G. H. Richardson

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

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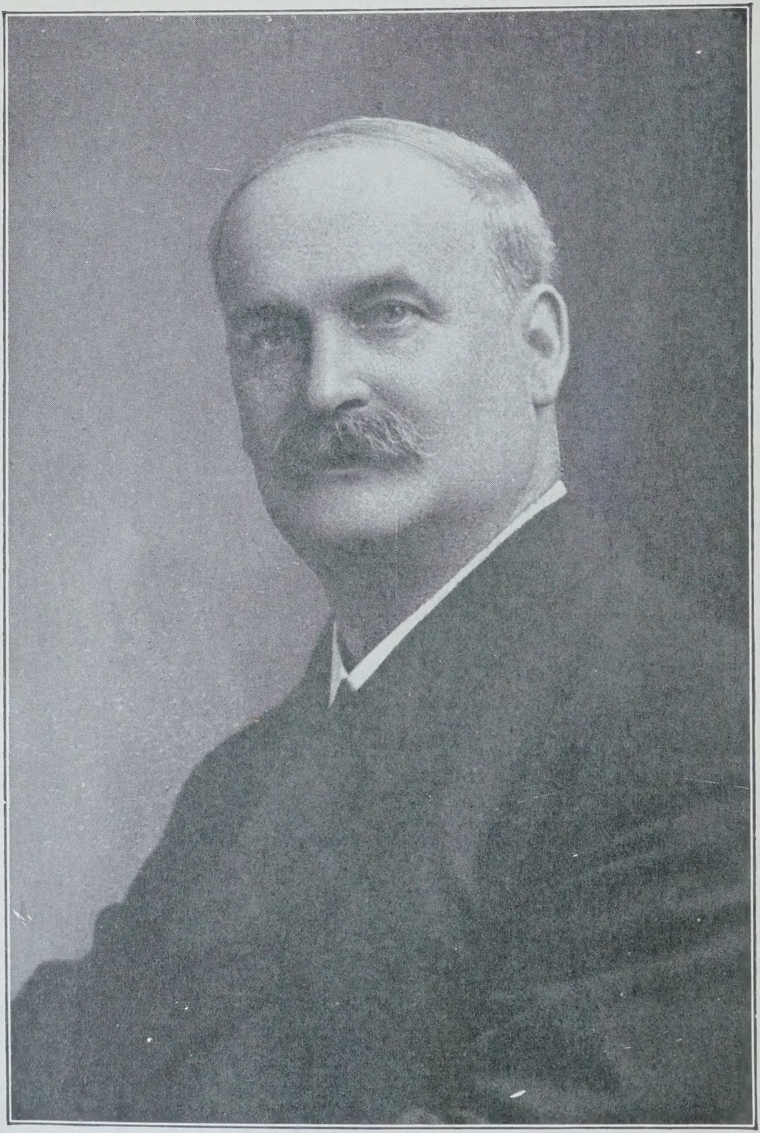

ALBERT HAM, Mus. Doc., F.R.C.O.
President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1915-1916

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS DURING THE SESSIONS 1915-16, 1916-17

Edited by DR. ALFRED HALL
SENIOR CHAPLAIN

GOD

SAVE THE

CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

KING

Thirteenth and Fourteenth Years of Issue
PUBLISHED AT TORONTO
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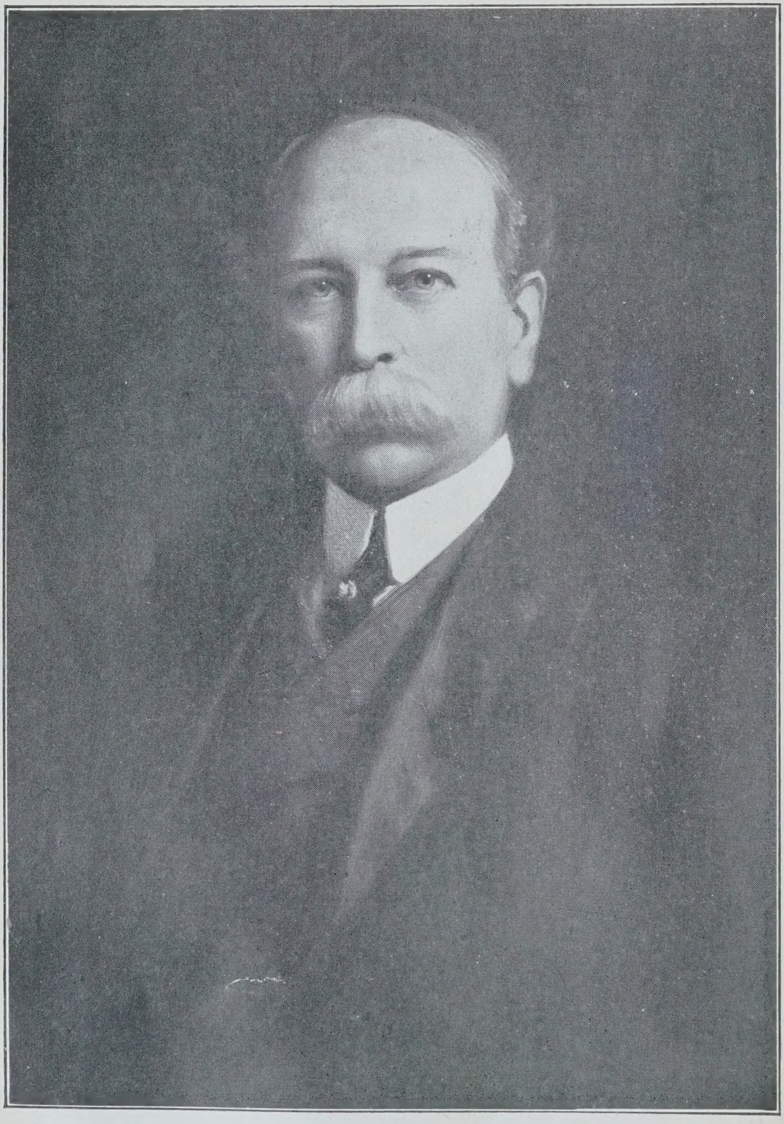
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA



JAMES BLACK PERRY
PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1916-1917

From a Painting by J. W. L. Forster

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Second Vice-President : J. B. Perry
Third Vice-President : Wm. Brooks

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Hon. Justice James Craig
Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart
Albert Ham, Mus. Doc.

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W. M. David

CONSTITUTION AND PLATFORM

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches.

Art. 1.—The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) That a committee be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of Branches, and that the word "Unit" be adopted to denote a Branch of the Club.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject, and shall consist of

(*a*) Active Resident Members.
(*b*) Non-Resident Members.
(*c*) Life Members.
(*d*) Honorary Members.

Active Resident Members, and Non-Resident Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Active Resident Members shall pay an annual fee of $3.00 and Non-Resident Members, $2.00. This sum shall include, to each member, a free copy of the annual volume of addresses. No member in arrears for

fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or to be eligible for office.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at any open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election as life members at any time, even though their election may cause the number of life members to exceed ten in any one year.

(2) Life members shall pay a fee of $25 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary members may be elected, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, at any general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President, a President, First, Second, Third Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer, and twelve others members, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. These members, together with the officers, before mentioned, shall constitute the Executive Committee. Past Presidents of the Club shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

Election of Officers

(2) The election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members to be held in the month of May in each year at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. A Com-

mittee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting ; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows :—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(*c*) Membership Committee.

Filling of Vacancies among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by the Treasurer's report, duly audited.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the Post Office at Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual, or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the address and notice of motions shall be introduced at any general meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year shall be the same as the calendar year, viz: January first to December thirty-first.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

TORONTO

Amended Platform of Principles and Objects for which the Empire Club of Canada stands

1. That, as hitherto, the main object of the Empire Club of Canada is the advancement of the interests of Canada, and a United Empire.

2. That the term British should apply to all citizens of the Empire.

3. That the Empire should be so organized that Canada and the other self-governing Dominions should be given a share in the control of its destinies, particularly in matters of peace and war.

4. That the different parts of the Empire should contribute to the cost of its defence, in such manner and amount as may be properly determined by a Convention called by the Parliaments of the Empire.

5. That in Imperial organization there should be preserved to the several self-governing Dominions their autonomy and the control of all local as distinguished from Imperial matters.

6. That Canadian public Lands should be given free to citizens who have fought, or enlisted to fight, in the armies, navies and air forces of the Empire and who express a desire for farm life—a condition of such grant to be actual settlement and cultivation by the donee ; and that an equivalent recognition should be given to such soldiers as desire to follow other occupations.

7. That all articles of growth, produce or manufacture within the component parts of the Empire should be given preferential advantages in the respective markets of the Empire, and that measures should be adopted to prevent any of the Empire's resources being utilized to injure British interests.

8. That a proper system of physical and military training should be introduced in the schools, colleges and universities throughout the Dominion of Canada.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

GOVERNING THE AFFILIATION OF

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

1. That the Royal Colonial Institute and the Empire Club of Canada be affiliated with a view to mutually promoting the object for which both were founded, namely, the Unity of the Empire.

2. That members of the Empire Club of Canada introduced by the Secretary of the Club, on recording their arrival in England to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, be made Honorary Fellows for one month.

3. That residents in the Dominion of Canada may become non-resident Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute and Members of the Empire Club of Canada on being duly proposed and seconded, and on payment of an Entrance Fee of One Guinea (Five Dollars) and an Annual Subscription of Twenty-five Shillings, (Six Dollars) for which they will receive the Journal of the Institute "United Empire" free of charge, and, when in London, have the use of the Institute Building as a Standing Address. This subscription will cover membership of both the Club and the Institute, and shall be allotted to the Institute and the Club in the proportion of three dollars and fifty cents to the former, and two dollars and fifty cents to the latter.

4. That all publications of the Empire Club of Canada shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute as soon as published, and each Member of the Institute, so desiring, shall be entitled to a copy of the annual volume of the Empire Club Proceedings and Addresses for the sum of seventy-five cents, or three shillings.

5. That the Monthly Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, "United Empire," shall be supplied to the Members of the Empire Club of Canada who are *not* Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute at an Annual Subscription of One Dollar, including postage, the ordinary subscription being one shilling per copy or twelve shillings a year exclusive of postage.

6. That the Financial Year of the Empire Club be the same as the Calendar Year, viz.—January first to December thirty-first.

7. That the Joint-Life-Subscription for new Non-Resident Fellows of the Institute and Members of the Empire Club be $65 (£13.1.0) ; $45 (£9.1.0) of which is payable to the Institute and includes an entrance fee of $5 (£1.1.0) ; and $20 (£4.) payable to the Empire Club.

Received and adopted by the Empire Club of Canada ; October 17, 1911.

JOINT FEES

AS IN ARTICLES 3 AND 7 ABOVE

ANNUAL FEE			LIFE FEE			
TOTAL	DISTRIBUTION		TOTAL	DISTRIBUTION		
	E. C.	R. C. I.		E. C.	R. C. I.	
Dollars $6	$2.50	$3.50	$65	$20	$45	**Includes $5.00 (£1. 1s.) Initiation Fee for R.C.I.**
Sterling £1 5s.	£0 10s.	£0 15s.	£13 1s.	£4	£9 1s.	
			$60	$20	$40	**For present members who have already paid R.C.I. Initiation.**
			£12	£4	£8	

INAUGURAL CELEBRATION OF SESSION 1916-15

As in some former years the new session was inaugurated by a popular patriotic celebration in the Massey Hall. Before a thoroughly representative and brilliant assembly of citizens the National Chorus, under the baton of Dr. Albert Ham, provided the festival music, the Programme of which is below.

The occasion was unique in that the incoming President of the Empire Club was also conductor of the National Chorus and Orchestra, both of which characters Dr. Ham sustained in admirable style.

Hon. Sir Sam Hughes K.C.B. Minister of Militia, The Premier of Ontario, Sir William Hearst, and Sir William Mulock were the principal speakers. The addresses were in line with the objects of the Empire Club and were well received by the very large representation of the Members who were present.

The seating capacity of Massey Hall was taxed to the utmost ; and amid unbounded enthusiasm for the Empire, in the second year of the war, the celebration was pronounced an inspiring success.

A collection was taken for the Funds of the Recruiting League, during which the Orchestra, conducted by Mr. F. Blachford, performed Elgar's March, "Pomp and Circumstance."

The Programme of Music

National Anthem	
"Follow the Colours"	*Elgar*
"La Marseillaise"	*Rouget de l'Isle*
Solo by Miss May Wilkinson	
"It comes from the Misty Ages"	*Elgar*
March Militaire "Canada"	*Albert Ham*
"Rule Britannia"	*Arne*
"Canadians' Follow the Drum"	*Albert Ham*
Russian National Anthem	
"O Canada"	*Arranged by Albert Ham*
"Call All Hands"	*Needham*

Tuesday Evening, November 9th, 1915.

THE INTRODUCTION

BY DR. ALFRED HALL, HON. EDITOR.

The extraordinary period of world-history covered by this volume has enabled the Empire Club of Canada to produce a book of rare and historic value. It is one of the compensations of including the two years' speeches together that we have such a symposium of contemporary opinion ready to hand for reference.

Those in the near and distant future who may be interested to know what the leading men in Canada thought as we were passing through these tragic times will turn these pages for first hand information. That is a reason why this book should be preserved in our homes. And, I suggest, it is also a reason why every member of the Empire Club should secure an extra copy and present it to some Library in which he is interested, that these vigorous thoughts and plans may fructify in all our cities and villages.

Take three glances at the contents. First observe the varied persons who speak ; then note the places from which they come ; then survey the subjects upon which they have spoken. Statecraft and Economics, Religion and Science, the Farm and the Battlefield, the Bench and the Bar, the Navy and Army, Homeborn and Foreign allies, Leaders of our Manhood and our Womanhood—all are here. The ringing notes of this lofty eloquence will live on to mould the public sentiment of the Dominion and to shape the public policy of our glorious Empire. Our future leaders must consult these pages.

This book might be very widely read outside of Canada by all who wish to know what Canadians think ; and who wish to hear them, like true Britons, "boldly say their say."

Nothing in this book is more thrilling and inspiring than the Honour Roll of the Empire Club. It shows that its members are the heads of families, loyal themselves to the British Empire and all for which it stands, and it shows that they have so trained their sons that they are willing to serve and suffer for their British inheritance.

The Object of the Club is
the Advancement of the Interests of
Canada and a United Empire

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

AUSTRALIA'S PART IN THE SCHEME OF EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT. J. J. SIMMONS, AUSTRALIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 18, 1915

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is, indeed, a great pleasure to meet a body of men assembled in the name of the Empire Club. We have had the opportunity of meeting many audiences since arriving in the City of Toronto, and those audiences have given us the opportunity of noticing that the powers of endurance of the Britisher are unimpaired, because I notice here quite a number of faces that we have seen in five or six other gatherings. We appreciate very much the continued and sustained interest in our visits to this, the great metropolis of the Dominion. As we travel along, one of the extraordinary things that strikes us, one of the few differences between Australians and Canadians, is the term one employs in speaking to his friends. In our country, if a man is Bob, well, he is Bob, and if we want to call him we just say "Bob," but in Canada there is a kind of prefix—"O Bob," "O Jack." When Canadians all stand up to sing a hymn about their country they say "O Canada." A gentleman sitting near me suggests that we are alike when we use the exclamation "O Hell !" If that is wrong, please blame General Ryerson ; I am the junior officer, and he ordered it, and you know what disobedience means. If that were purely Scotch or purely English, we would object to the term "O Canada," because that implies that all of Canada is of Irish extraction. We have been led to believe that Canada is chiefly Scotch ; anyhow, I suppose the Scotch men will have the credit and the Irishmen can have the title tacked on to the National Hymn ; what title the Englishman has is rather to be determined, and I think his modesty forbids him from asserting his place.

We feel it a great honor, as well as a privilege, to be able to represent the young Commonwealth of Australia. We believe we are the greatest as well as the youngest democracy in the whole world. We say that without any reflection upon Canada. You know our constitution is very new, and yours is getting somewhere in its autumn of years, we feel. We, therefore, have the opportunity and benefit of experience in shaping the constitution under which it is our privilege to live, and we feel that Australia has played a part in the upbuilding of the Empire which we, as sons of that young Commonwealth, can always refer to with pride. We know that there may be minor characteristic differences between the Canadians and the Australians ; each may have a local pride and a local patriotism, which is an ever-pulling force ; but we know that patriotism is pronounced and articulate just as it is in the Scotchman or the Irishman, and they are expecting the time to come in the affairs of the Empire when we can somewhat alter the old phrase and say :

> "No Australians, Scots or Celts are we,
> But Britons one and all."

And this is a crisis in which that sentiment or that utterance is paramount.

Now, if we review, just for a moment, a great trend of Imperial development, we cannot help perceiving what has almost emerged. For several decades the great master minds of the Motherland believed that the colonies were to grow up and get their majority, become disconnected, and shape independent courses ; and we found that idea having its reflex in even some big minds of our various Dominions. But separatism was a plant destined to have but a very short career, and we feel the great turning point which might represent the crisis-mark to determine the course that the aggregation of nations under our flag was to follow, has been reached. Australia irrevocably committed herself to this principle—the wars of the Motherland are the wars of the Empire. We recall with pride that Conference in 1883 when William B. Deakin, the great orator-statesman of our Continent, laid it down, in spite of a bitter blast of opposition, that he was going to send to the Soudan the first Australian troops to fight along with British soldiers ; and in that act we believe there is registered in an indelible manner the greatest record ever made by the Overseas Dominions. There was established for all time, and far beyond dispute, a new message, a new practice, a new principle, when we said, "The military responsibilities of the Motherland are to be shared by the Overseas Dominions of the world." From that idea, from that thought, grew the great conviction that the Motherland cannot be challenged without the challenge being felt by all the children.

You want to know how we feel in Australia regarding this crisis. We have no sympathy with what you call the knockers who are in high places in the Motherland. You know that every Australian boy, like every Canadian boy, studies history, the history of the great English-speaking race, and we know that lessons that come from the broad domain of history. Has not the Britisher ever been a slow starter ? But, gentlemen, he is a grand stayer and a brilliant fighter. We did not win the Napoleonic campaigns in the first summer or the first spring, and we did not win the great naval campaigns at first, but we were always in at the death : and we believe it is better to register an indisputable, a lasting and an imperishable finish than to take part in a short desultory spurt which fades away into nothingness before the race is ended. There is not a campaign during the past 500 years where the Britisher has not done his best work in the last and deciding lap. So we are optimists, great optimists ; and we are not only optimists in regard to this present crisis; but optimists with a vision big enough to take in the great possibilities that future has in store for us. We think that you as Canadians and we as Australians—with all due respect to the sons of the Motherland—are bigger optimists, and that we have a more intelligent and broader faith in the possibilities of the mother, than even those who live in the Motherland—and we say it with all reverence. You know there is an old saying that young men see visions, and we believe the young nations will see visions—visions of the greatness that is in store for the Empire compared with which all the achievements, successes and glories of the past will prove to be but the introductory overtures to the achievements of the future. You know the pessimists who write so much about our slowness, what they call our dullness, and sometimes our blunders ; they would not be satisfied unless they had the news of a Waterloo with their porridge every morning for breakfast ; then their appetites would still leave them hungry for a Trafalgar each day every month. Well, we are not quite as insanely optimistic as that, and we are not impatient, and we do not begin to murmur when they don't arrive. We find a great deal of pride and satisfaction from this thought, that though we may not have had a single Trafalgar, even if we had a hundred Trafalgars, the German navy could not have been more effectively converted into junk than it is at the present moment.

One of our countrymen was interned in Germany, and he must have been a good fellow, because they gave him lots of freedom, so much freedom that he got on speaking terms with Von Tirpitz, and as they were walking down the banks of the Kiel Canal one day, our man said to Von Tirpitz, "Are your men very good sailors ?" And he replied, "Oh, they are fery gute sailors ; none of them haf been sea-sick for ofer a year." Of course, Von Tirpitz did not add any reference to the reason which made it impossible for them to get sea-sick ; but that Australian knew it, and we know it ; and we believe that achievement is just as great and just as glorious as anything that was ever done at Trafalgar.

One question that we, as citizens of the Empire, feel will have to be settled in accordance with the Australian line of reasoning in regard to the future is the position that our women are going to have in future years. During this crisis we have been able to ask the ladies to bear their burdens nobly, and they are doing it. On every side we see the wonderful self-sacrifice of the women of Canada; and if we may make a confession, we think a lot of the women of Canada. It has been my privilege to meet women in all parts of the world, but I do not think I have ever met so many women as we have met in Canada who have such a broad, intelligent grasp and who can converse with such a display of intellectuality upon great world-themes as can the women of Canada. I believe that is the dominant memory which most of us will carry away from this Dominion. And then we begin to think what you are losing by not having a reflex of that intellectuality in the affairs of this country. We believe that is an imperial subject, because if an Australian woman wants to come here in Canada, why should she as a British subject have to forfeit her right to a share in the affairs of this Empire? While this is a domestic subject, I do not know why we should not speak of it. A lot of people here say that women would not use a vote if they had it. Those fellows would say that we ought to sink the whole British navy because it is not firing off guns. But the navy is doing a good work; and we believe it is a good thing for a woman to have a vote around the house even though she does not use it. It is a good thing to have a rifle about the the house, but it is not necessary to fire it off. We find that the fact of women having the vote has been a factor of great use in giving Australian money for the regiments we have sent to the Front. We are very proud of our "Khaki Bulwarks of the Empire," as one of the Cadets called it the other night, which we have in Australia; and we must remember always that those great bodies of men could never have been brought into existence without the consent of the women of our country, because they are the mothers, and they are the people who have made the surrender and the sacrifice, and they have done it with a natural nobility of spirit.

Now, Mr. President, I have to leave in order to talk to the Yankees. We are going over there to help recruit the 97th. Just in conclusion, we desire to say that we cannot find any words to express the appreciation of all that has been done for us here in Toronto. You have given us top speed and hospitality all the time. The only sweet we have not tasted in Toronto is the sweetness of solitude. You have really speeded things up for us, and we will carry away with us some of the most wonderful memories that we have in a very extraordinary set of recollections. But there is one message which you are going to allow us to take away with us to our countrymen across the sea, and that is a message of the determination of the citizens of Toronto, in common with their fellow-citizens throughout the Empire, to work and strive along a course and a track which will know no deviation and no swerving, and until, as the result of the passions of our hearts and the thoughts of our brains, our aggregate action in all parts of the Empire is going to see its power placed upon a pinnacle which will leave it unchallenged and unchallengeable.

Mr. J. P. Murray asked Lieut. Simmons : Has the fact of universal training led to the idea in Australia that the people are going to be militarized

LIEUT. SIMMONS : No, no more than we think a hospital or a quarantine station will increase disease—just the same.

The vote of thanks was moved by General Ryerson, and seconded by Hon. Col. Mason.

THE WAR AS IT AFFECTS THE THEATRICAL PROFESSION

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM FAVERSHAM, ESQ.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 25, 1915

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—This occasion permits me to tell you an old story of mine. Some few years ago I was invited to speak at a meeting of the Drama League. The chair was occupied by a lady who had never before acted in that capacity. She was very important, and luncheon had not gone on ten minutes before she made a great mistake by getting up, knocking on the plate, and saying, "Now, ladies and gentlemen, would you like to enjoy yourselves a little longer, or will Mr. Faversham speak now ?" I will try to do a little better to-day. I feel greatly honored in coming to this Club to-day ; it has been the dream of my life to come to the Empire Club ; I have read what it has sprung from, and even in Col. Denison's presence I feel like saying that it must have sprung from the Imperial League, when I see the names of the great men on the Executive, the real loyalists, the cavaliers of Canada, who have brought all this about.

When a theatre man comes, you think he ought to speak of the theatre. Sometimes I think the theatre is frivolous and unnecessary and wish I did not belong to it, and that I ought to be doing something else that seems more substantial. After all, I think there is something good in our profession. I am a great believer in education through the drama, and I am firmly convinced that the theatre is the greatest educational force there is, seconded only by the great daily press, which is always a great educator. Therefore, I think

I might go on and speak to you about the theatre and what it hopes to do ; and when all of us who are trying to uphold the theatre are gone—and perhaps a good many of us will have to go from you before very long—I trust you who remain will see that the theatre retains its proper place.

The theatre cannot teach you politics and arithmetic, although I think I could teach you a little arithmetic sometimes ; but we can teach you music, painting, sculpture, costume, deportment, good speech—everything that pertains to art we can help you with ; that is, if we do the best that there is in us, which we all strive to do who take it seriously.

I think any young man or woman who is taken to the theatre when a youngster to see the best plays will receive unconsciously an education that they could not get anywhere else in the world. I do not think there is any form of education that compares with the theatre, because about ninety-nine per cent. of human beings remember what they see and what they hear compared with the one per cent. who remember what they read. They are all too busy now-a-days to remember what they read ; that is why we have the head-lines in the newspapers, I suppose.

When I was a boy I do not think I took much notice of anything about education, or tried to get an education at all. I was always running away somewhere, and would not go to school. Finally I was taken by the back of the neck and taken very seriously into a family of six or seven sisters who were crazy about the theatre, and they used to take me there every night. At first I didn't like it, but it gradually grew upon me. I saw all the great actors away back to Barry Sullivan because really I am not as young as I look. I have seen the whole stock from Irving to our great actor, Forbes Robertson ; and I think it started something that did me a lot of good, for I would have been a rough and reckless cow-puncher out West ; and I owe it all to the theatre.

The theatre brings home to you everything that is big and human. I was talking to Rabbi Wise, the big

Jewish Rabbi in New York, the other day, and he said to me, "Faversham, I have to confess to you now that I received nearly all my education in going to the theatre." I replied, "I am not surprised at that, for I see you in the theatre every night." He said, "I go there because I can see more of my tribe in the theatre than I can in a Church." He added, "When it comes to the box-office end of it you are not in it with us." He told me that he was very much surprised in London to go to St. Paul's Cathedral and see the Bishop of London standing in front, with a rather theatrical speech on a little bit of paper in front of him, and then a great big brass band—anything to bring in the crowd—and he said to him afterwards, "Why don't you go to the theatre ? We can get three times the audience there that we get in Church. If I give a lecture in Church I get about a quarter of it filled, but if I give it in the theatre it is packed, and I turn them away." There is something about a theatre that the public never can get away from.

It seems presumption on my part to stand here and talk while there are so many able men here who could do much better than I can ; but I wonder if one from the crowd, as I consider myself, might say to all you men something that is very near and dear to my heart ? The English colony in New York have talked about it. It is this : That we hope when this war is ended that all you wonderful people who have done so much for the Empire are not going to sit still and let the settlement of this thing be dictated from just one chair in London, but that you are all going to come forward and say, "We have done as much as you have, and by Jove we are going to have something to say about it." Undoubtedly the time will come, though I may not live to see it, when Canada and Australia and South Africa will sit in our Parliament, as it should be. It should have been so from the very first. Terrible mistakes have been made ; and if I might venture, as an amateur strategist, to say so, the great mistake was that those men who have fought and succeeded have not been consulted about the big things in London.

I do not like to talk too much about politics, because I think you feel that I am not as competent as some others, but it has been very near and dear to us and every one of our members that a little secret society of New York has been of great assistance to our slow police in London in catching one or two prominent men among the German element. Having been asked whenever I came to Canada to speak on this very subject, I might tell you that I was instrumental in catching one, James Dumba, a little while ago. He was a very intimate friend of mine for years, but I never quite trusted him. I had him at a little dinner, and then I communicated with Mr. Ford, and the first thing he knew we had him on the boat.

Gentlemen, I do not think there is anything I can say to you in the spirit of Imperialism better than the few lines that W. A. Henley wrote twenty-five years ago, which I repeat at the theatre, and if you would not mind, I would repeat to you those lines now.

ENGLAND, MY ENGLAND

What have I done for you,
  England, my England ?
What is there I would not do,
  England, my own ?
With your glorious eyes austere,
As the Lord were walking near,
Whispering terrible things and dear,
  As the Song on your bugles blown,
      England—
  Round the world on your bugles blown !

Where shall the watchful sun,
  England, my England,
Match the master-work you've done,
  England, my own ?
When shall he rejoice agen
Such a breed of mighty men
As come forward, one to ten,
  To the Song on your bugles blown,
      England—
  Down the years on your bugles blown ?

Ever the faith endures,
  England, my England :—
"Take and break us : we are yours,
  England, my own !
Life is good, and joy runs high
Between English earth and sky :
Death is death ; but we shall die
  To the Song on your bugles blown,
        England—
  To the stars on your bugles blown !"

They call you proud and hard,
  England, my England :
You with worlds to watch and ward,
  England, my own !
You whose mailed hand keeps the keys
Of such teeming destinies,
You could know nor dread nor ease,
  Were the Song on your bugles blown,
        England—
  Round the Pit on your bugles blown !

Mother of Ships whose might,
  England, my England,
Is the fierce old Sea's delight,
  England, my own,
Chosen daughter of the Lord,
Spouse-in-Chief of the ancient Sword,
There's the menace of the Word
  In the Song on your bugles blown,
        England—
  Out of heaven on your bugles blown !

The vote of thanks was proposed by Col. G. T. Denison, and seconded by Dr. Goggin.

THE OUTLOOK OF CENTRAL CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY SIR JAMES GRANT, M.D., K.C.M.G.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
December 2, 1915

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Fifteen years ago the late Lord Minto organized a Canadian Association for protection of our people from tuberculosis. Since that time I have been visiting all parts of Canada in the interests of that movement. I have been so impressed with the development of central Canada and its great future, its industrial importance, and its contribution towards the advancement in commerce of this great City of Toronto, that I am delighted to have an opportunity of expressing my views here.

I am very happy to report that in many districts visited I have not been able to find a single case of tuberculosis, that disease having been wiped out by the education imparted by the Government at Ottawa and the various local governments, who actually shower the country with pamphlets by the million showing how to detect tuberculosis, and how to care for it when it occurs. I had the pleasure forty-five years ago of introducing into the Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in this City a resolution making hygiene compulsory as a line of scientific education in the educational institutions of our country. That resolution was received most charmingly by those in charge of the Government of Ontario, and no one took a deeper and more abiding interest in forwarding science in medicine and surgery in connection with that College than the late Sir James Whitney. I feel confident that the mantle of that great man has fallen most gracefully on the shoulders of Premier Hearst and his worthy associates, who will discharge the duties of their honorable positions so as to develop beyond all precedent the outcome of this Province, which is to-day recognized as the brightest Province in this Dominion.

While a student at McGill University in Medicine in 1849 and 1850, I was a guest of the late Hon. Allen Macdonald, ex-chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and there I met seven or eight ex-chief factors of that Company who assembled there with Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay territory, who resided at Lachine. He was a man of small stature but extraordinary intellectual and physical capacity, of sharp observation, thoroughly up in the affairs of the world, with perfect knowledge of what was necessary in order that Canada might attain the position that it to-day enjoys. He made fully fifty trips by canoe from Lachine to Red River, and crossed from Hudson's Bay to Vancouver by canoe and portage. His notes, which are to-day in my possession, are extremely interesting and instructive, and compare most favorably with the records that are cropping up now from time to time. The chief discussions of those ex-factors had reference to that great western country, and I had the pleasure of listening to them. In 1854, after graduating, I settled in Bytown, now Ottawa, thanks to the late Sir John Macdonald, who recommended that idea to our late Majesty Queen Victoria, hence Ottawa, one of the most beautiful cities in our Dominion, enjoys the privilege of being the capital of Canada.

In 1860 I was invited by the Mechanics' Institute of Ottawa to deliver a public address, and took for my subject the union of the different portions of the Dominion of Canada, and the placing on them of an iron splint, to strengthen the very fibre of our country, and to promote as far as possible trade, and commerce, for the advantage of our people. Shortly afterwards, Sir John Macdonald called me to his residence at Stadacona Hall and asked me where I got the information for my address. I told him, from Sir George Simpson and the chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company. He then said I must come into Parliament, which I consented to do, becoming a member of the Dominion House in 1867 at Confederation, for Russell County. Seated in that house in 1872, Sir John Macdonald sent to me Sir John Ross with a bill in his hand, saying, "Sir John wishes you to introduce this bill in your own name, and to make the speech for the Government," which I was delighted to perform. Shortly afterwards I was invited into the private study of Sir John Macdonald at Stadacona Hall and found him sitting in a large arm-chair reading a book. I noted a yellow marker in the book, and after ascertaining that he only had a slight cold, Sir John pulled that marker out of his book and handed me to read. A cable received the night previous from Grenfell, London, announcing the completion of arrangements for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Sir John said, "I thought after receiving such a cable as that, this Saturday night, that the best thing I could do this Sunday morning was to read my Bible and thank God for what he had done for Canada." Gentlemen, is it any wonder that this C.P.R. should have attained such marvellous success, after such a presentment ? The greatest living corporation to-day in the known world ; a road that has so far never touched anywhere, that we did not afterwards find two blades of grass where previously there was only one ; a road which has contributed marvellously towards the development of that great western kingdom to the north and made it to-day the surprise of the nations of the world. This year it has produced 360 million bushels of wheat alone, irrespective of millions of bushels of other classes of grain, and out of only one-tenth of the arable land of that vast region. What will we be when the other nine-tenths are brought under cultivation by the scientific progressive agricultural appliances of the present day ? It will require the entire carrying capacity of the three present transcontinental roads to cope with the great transportation problem. Again, our progressive administration is to-day forging on the construction of that Hudson's Bay Railway, as an additional accessory towards this transportation problem ; and so soon as that road is completed, it will bring Winnipeg, the Mecca of the North American Continent, as near to Liverpool, via Hudson's Bay, as Montreal is to-day via St. Lawrence. Is not that a marvellous development ? If any one doubts about the Hudson's Bay on account of ice, let him read the history of the St. Lawrence Gulf, the Amazon of Canada, which to-day is plowed by the great leviathans of the deep, with a degree of safety and freedom perfectly remarkable ; and that history will be repeated in the navigation of the Hudson's Bay. Is it not remarkable also that the Czar of Russia has fast ice-breakers, clearing up the great port of Vladivostock, in order to keep that channel free for the coming trade ? No sooner will this war be over than the Empire of Russia will have reciprocity of trade with the Empire of Canada, that will advance the imperial interests of this Dominion, in a way that will surprise and encourage our people from ocean to ocean. Is it any wonder, under all these circumstances, that the aphorism is so absolutely correct—that Canada is to-day the brightest jewel in the colonial coronet of the Empire ?

I will now give you a panoramic view of some parts of central Canada—Sudbury, Cobalt and Porcupine—whose development and evidence of life and vitality are truly remarkable ; in the lumber camps, pouring out lumber, to meet the requirements of this Province ; in the millions of acres of agricultural land, open to-day for the incoming of many thousands of strong and vigorous agriculturists, who will make a reputation for Ontario far beyond what it now enjoys.

Sudbury is without doubt one of the most remarkable mineral centres to-day in the whole world. It produces 80 per cent. of the nickel of the world, and the money paid to its operatives is developing a whole country and contributing also to the progress of this great city, Toronto. Thousands of men are employed every day. The Mond Company and the Copper Cliff Corporation are the chief industrial Companies now operating and extracting the nickel from the area first discovered 43 years ago by the C.P.R. in its cuttings through the rocks in that immediate neighbourhood, as I saw even at that time, but unfortunately did not know much about it.

Sudbury to-day is only in its infancy. They are taking copper and often times, gold, out of that ore to pay for the removal of the nickel, which they sometimes have absolutely free. Those two corporations and others operating there now have actually made millions out of Sudbury and are going to make many millions more. Why may not the gentlemen before me have the opportunity of enjoying such privileges which are just at their front door ? That nickel is used to harden the great steel plates of the monitors and leviathans of the world, that they may not be penetrated as easily when this war is on as they were formerly. I would say to Admiral Tirpitz, that if he would just take out, for a holiday in the North Pacific, that German navy he has locked up so securely in the Kiel Canal, he will learn without doubt that Great Britain holds in its grasp to-day, and will continue to hold, the maritime supremacy of the world.

Cobalt is one of the most remarkable mineral centres in Canada. When I was there I thought I was in the war regions, seeing vast aeroplanes, as I supposed, flitting through the atmosphere ; but on closer investigation I found they were great iron tubs carrying a large quantity of ore taken from the earth, lifted up on high, transmitted along those wires to the great concentrator, where the silver was extracted from the ore, and piled up in blocks worth from $1,150 to $1,175 each, waiting for the war to pass over, so that the price of silver may rise to normal value. I examined the country not only on the surface, but I went down into the bowels of the earth, as I sometimes do with a private individual, to find out how the silver digestion was going on, and I assure you I got a tremendous surprise when I saw those lengthy channels lit up by acetylene, rows upon rows of lamps, and men taking out that ore and accumulating it in a marvellous manner. Within the last few days another property, called the Peterson, has had all the water carried off that lake, and it is now supposed to be one of the most valuable areas discovered in the whole section of Cobalt. I supposed that the mines were far distant from each other, but they are clustered in an extremely small space, which has already produced 200 millions of ounces of silver and given to its shareholders $800,000,000. The millionaires turned out from Cobalt are now residing in Montreal, Toronto, St. Catharines and other parts of Canada, and there are ample opportunities open for many other individuals if they wish to be millionaires to go in and do likewise. But what did I find ?—that many of the largest mines—The Cobalt, the Nipissing, the Kerr Lake and others—were properties of the American people. I was delighted to learn that our great American neighbours were coming in here now and expending large capital in the development of our resources. Only a few days ago Winston Churchill, the great American novelist, in addressing the Canadian Club at Ottawa, made this charming allusion, "that at no time in the history of his people were they more British in sentiment and feeling than they are to-day."

Gentlemen, His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada, since his arrival in this country a few years ago, has expressed himself so warmly, so enthusiastically, so encouragingly to our people under the very fringe of the Magna Charta and the British constitution, that his bright intellectual ideality, radiated into the Republic, and is now circulating through the veins of the Magi, of that great and prosperous country, and stirring up the very existence of that charming sentiment of Churchill, that as a people they never were more British in their sentiments and their feelings than they are at the present time.

Porcupine is really a wonderful centre, and what Cobalt has done in the production of enormous wealth from silver, Porcupine is going to do in the production of vast amounts of gold. Your local authorities here say that it produced over $5,000,000 last year and the year before. There is a large territory there holding this Keewatin Rock ; and, gentlemen, you know that bald rocks are often like bald heads—they contain a great deal under them. I found fissures charged with gold which stimulated thousands of people to go in there and take up land with the prospective idea of becoming millionaires in the near future. To-day there are 40 mines operating, but only about 20 are in active development. The Martin, Timmins and Dunlop are the chief pioneers in the early development of the gold of that section ; their Hollinger mine is down now 1,200 feet, and lately they penetrated the rock, with a diamond drill, 500 or 600 feet more, and this Keewatin rock was found to be as rich in gold at the lower end as at the top, so that they have from ten to twelve years' work ahead of them to extract gold from the Keewatin rock now in sight. The Dome and Dome Extension are enjoying very much the same experience, and their stock to-day is standing at a very high figure. The Thompson mine, one of the very last developments, only a few days old, has already almost given jaundice to the men operating it, the quantity of gold is so great. At Swastika, half way between Cobalt and Porcupine, there are three or four mines in operation and, though only partially developed, gave almost fifteen per cent. profit already, which I consider a very fine return for a recent investment.

Go where you will to-day in Porcupine, you become thoroughly convinced of the extraordinary feature awaiting its development. Mr. Timmins has laid out a town there called after his name, which has 500 or 600 inhabitants now, with all the modern advancements for happiness and prosperity, and a very fine hotel. That is not all ; the day is not far distant when Porcupine will be to Canada what Johannesburg is to South Africa, as a gold producer, that will arouse the people of this country, within the next few years, as to the extraordinary advancement and development that are here awaiting the energy, the activity and determination of the worthy people of Ontario.

With all these blessings that a kind Providence is to-day showering on our people, should we not have a feeling of happiness and joy that we have been so blessed in what is surrounding us ? The Government war loan, though brought before the people only a few weeks ago, has been doubly subscribed, an evidence of a confidence of the public of Canada in our present administration. We are living in a very serious time. The greatest war the world ever realized is now in progress. It is a fight for freedom and democracy against tyranny and autocracy ; a fight in which the equilibrium of our people is disturbed to-day from ocean to ocean ; in which the pulse of the industrial and commercial life of the world is beating in abnormal form ; in which public and private property in the midst of this whirlwind is of precious little account ; a fight in which jurists and diplomatists find the greatest degree of difficulty in defining the bed-rock of principle. Yet is it not a source of pride and satisfaction to us to con over the very bravery and heroism of our sons, who have achieved a niche in a temple of fame of a truly imperishable character ? Right and justice are gradually coming our way ; and I feel as certain of a great victory for Britain and Allies as that there is a sun shining over our heads to-day, and by its radiation stimulating and encouraging our people in the belief that we are now nearing that period when we will again enjoy peace, comfort, happiness and prosperity, the normal heritage of our people ; and I think that I must ask you now, one and all, to join with me in the present sentiment :

> "Then hoist the British flag on high,
> And nail it to the mast,
> That all the world may see it fly ;
> Great Britain's roused at last."

The vote of thanks was moved by Col. Dr. Bruce, and seconded by Very Rev. Dean Harris.

RUSSIA: BRITAIN'S ALLY

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT. V. V. UTGOFF, RUSSIAN NAVAL AVIATION CORPS.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
December 9, 1915

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I left Russia about three months ago, and in coming to the United States crossed the whole of European Russia in a train, in which I saw very much of Russian military officers, who related to me the position of the war. When I was myself in the Crimea I did not know very much about the war ; I had only known about the war which is in the Black Sea, because I was too busy to read newspapers. Very often I was on the sea for two or three weeks, and when I returned back I could recognize a little about the whole war situation. Now I know more than I knew when I was there. All those officers that were present during our big retreat relate to me that the spirit of our army is very good ; that our army is retreating but not beaten, and the only question is that we have not ammunition enough ; but the position was so bad that every cannon has had only one shell, so it was too difficult to fight the Germans ; but our retreating army was in very good order and our losses were not more than the losses of German troops. Now I have heard from Russian people who are coming to the United States that the ammunition question is much better. We get very much ammunition from the United States, even from Canada also, from England, and from all our allies, and our Government hope that in the spring we will begin our big invasion of Germany with a new army of four million men. I was very often thinking about this war, until this time I cannot understood how Kaiser Wilhelm started this war, what his reasons were, because I knew the position of Germans was very well in Russia. Every German who came to Russia for ten or fifteen years returned to his country as a very rich man, with good supplies. After our unsuccessful Japanese war, Germany has made for themselves a very good commercial treaty with Russia, so that their commerce with Russia was in very good condition, and they have made very good money ; until this time I cannot understand why they began to fight with us.

I think that this war is good, not for Germans, but only for us, for Russia, because during this war our people begin to understand which is the best way to civilization ; and I think that when the war will stop, our people will be together with all civilized countries of this world, and they will be much better arranged than before the war. Our Government is willing now to give more liberty to our people ; and even the Czar Nicholas, he is making also steps to help our people, to give them more liberty. Our Czar was, as all our Governments, under very big German influence before the war ; and certainly now, since the war began, all the Germans were wiped out from our Government. Our Czar himself is a very good man, only he has not very much strength to himself, and now that the Germans are away he makes many very good things. I have heard his command is also very successful, and he does his work as a simple soldier.

When Kaiser Wilhelm began this war, I think that was only his own wish, and not the wish of his people; and when Russia began the war, that was not the wish of our Government, but that was the wish of our people. Germany is our old enemy. Our grandfathers taught us to hate Germans, and I think it is the best dream of every simple Russian peasant to fix up some time his wrong with Germany and pay them for those many bad things they have made for us. For example, the Russian-Japanese war was not successful because that was the war of our Government but not of our people. Our Government wanted to get some more land—I don't know what for, we have so much—

and we lost that war only because our people did not wish it. And now we say that during this war we do not need no little piece of land, we have so much land besides ; we need only to be free from all bad influences which had made such a large pressure on our lives, on the lives of our people ; and perhaps ten or fifteen years later, when the history will be written, I think you will see also that because our people did not have liberties so long time, we must look for this fault in Germany. I think that this German influence has destroyed the wishes of our people, and when our first revolution began Germany had made very many things to destroy our first revolution ; and certainly now things will change.

I am quite sure that even if we had not had very much successes during this war, we will have them, and we will be equal with the Germans ; and every Russian soldier, every Russian officer, when he thinks that he has friends so far from Russia, as in Canada, he has friends in England and in France, it makes him much braver.

Kaiser Wilhelm wanted very much to put a quarrel among the Allies, and I think this is sure, that Kaiser Wilhelm will never be able to do that.

When I return back to Russia I will be very happy to relate to them what I have seen here in Canada. I will be very happy to relate to them that even you have a volunteer army here, but your women do not like the young men who do not wish to go, and what the women wish, God wishes. Then I am quite sure that Canada will suppy the Allies' arms as good as all the other countries, in spite of the fact that the army here is a volunteer army.

To finish my bad speech, I would like to thank my Lord Bishop, as I have heard here he helps very much the Russians which are living in Toronto, and I am very glad and very proud here in your presence to give my best thanks to my Lord Bishop, and I hope that he will permit me to give him a shake of the hand.

I hear that some of you want to know how I got my cross. It is too difficult for me. I related this story to many people which are here, for example, to Mr. McLean and Mr. Shervinan, and perhaps some of them will take this and relate it to you, because it is too difficult to me. All right, I can say only about the Black Sea operation. In the beginning of the war the position there was very dangerous for us, because our fleet was not strong enough ; we have had very few good ships, and the ships were very old, and when the cruiser Goeben went to Constantinople with those navy officers who understand well, who can calculate the changes better than the private people, we thought we would never beat the Goeben because the Goeben was too strong for us ; but with the help of God we have done it, and in the first fight when Goeben met us, he could continue the fight only twelve minutes, and after twelve minutes a big fire began on board of this cruiser and he ran away. We could not catch him, because this cruiser can go three times quicker than our ship. But our torpedo boats afterwards they have very successful mines in Bosphorus, and when Goeben went out for the next fleet he exploded. It took him about five months before we saw Goeben again. Now in our Black Sea we have two dreadnoughts which are made in Russia, and certainly now we have no reason to fear even if the Goeben will be repaired. In the Black Sea the position is very well now, and I think when it will be possible for us to prepare that good army we will begin our invasion in the Bosphorus, and then from both sides, perhaps in Constantinople, we will shake hands with the English army, and I hope that there I will meet some of the Toronto citizens.

Now I will relate also about one of our navy officers who was the first during this war which got the St. George Cross. He died, and he got the St. George Cross after his death. When the Turks started war with Russia, they did not declare war. The Goeben came to Sebastapol about five o'clock in the morning and began bombardment of this City, and on this morning one of our military transports which had not one cannon returned from Yolka, about 90 kilometers from Sebastapol, and when the Goeben met the ship he began to shoot ; they didn't have nothing to do more than sink this transport. One of our officers went down below deck and opened the hatches. That ship could not sink very quick. Then he put in a mine and exploded this mine, and exploded himself also together with the ship, but the Turks could not get our flag.

Gentlemen, I must finish. Perhaps I will relate you a story about one of our aviators—about Captain Nesereff, a military aviator. Before the war, when he was a pupil, he related very often that it is possible to destroy an enemy's seaplane by hitting it with the wheels of his own machine. Then when war started he was the commander of an aeronautical squadron, and his work was in Carpathia against Austrians. Austrians had had a very good aeroplane for four men, very powerful, and every day they came to Russian troops and caused inconvenience by dropping bombs, and so on. One of our Russian generals told to Captain Nesereff, Was it possible to destroy this aeroplane ? He answered, "Yes, it is possible ; I will try to do it" ; and he told his soldiers to let him know when this Austrian machine will come. One morning very early he was in bed, and one of the soldiers came to him and told him, "The Austrian machine is here." He did not have time to dress himself, because he was in bed ; he came to the aeroplane and started to fly. When he was about to the enemy it began to make a very steep volplane, and the wheels of his machine hit the enemy machine, which turned over and began to fall. Our troops, which had seen the whole of this thing began to shout "Hurrah !" and the aeroplane of this officer began to make a spiral volplane, but when the machine was about 300 meters high she turned over and fell in a swamp, and when the people approached to this machine they have seen that the aviator has had a broken spine. As I told you, he did not have time enough, and he was not strapped on the seat, and when he hit the enemy machine the hit was so strong that he broke his spine on the back of his seat, and he died in the machine, but the machine made by itself the spiral volplane. After this, all the German aviators, when they see one of the Russian machines, they run away immediately. They told that the Russians are "too foolish" for them. Three months later they began to be braver, and then another time the same thing happened ; one of our officers did it also to a German Taube, and turned it over, and returned back himself successfully. Our soldiers and officers now are much braver than at the beginning of the war ; and do you know who helped in this ? Germans, because they are so rough with the prisoners that nobody now will be a prisoner ; everybody prefers to die than to be in the hands of Germans. I read very much newspapers and the newspaper stories certainly it is impossible to believe them, because they relate that the Germans are rough, they relate also that the Russians are rough, and everybody ; but I spoke to many of the wounded people, and the story of one of our wounded officers, I think, I will never forget in my life. That was a cavalry officer, and he was sent once for reconnoitering. He met some Germans and began a little fight. He was wounded and fell to the ground and our soldiers retreated, and when he was lying on the ground one of the German soldiers approached to him, took his own pistol, and asked the German officer which was also near to him, "May I kill him ?" and the officer answered, "I don't see what you will do," and turned his back and went away. Then this soldier began to shoot at the officer, but he would not kill him at once ; he shoot him in the hands, in the legs, and our officer turned over with pain and showed, on his hands, to finish at once ; but the German soldier did not kill him, and when all the cartridges were out from the pistol he threw away the pistol and also went away. About four or five hours later our troops returned back, and they saw that this officer is not killed, and I have seen this officer in hospital and now he is quite all right, and he told me that when he will meet with German officer certainly he will never forget his face, and if he will meet him in his time he will kill him. I have heard many of such stories ; and all these stories, what do they make ? They make that our people now will never stop the war before they will have paid them. Even if we should remain quite alone we would not stop the war till the last soldier or officer will be killed. But certainly, as I told you in the beginning, I am quite sure that we will win this war, and we will speak about peace in that time when our allies will wish it, but not Kaiser Wilhelm. Now I must thank you very much, gentlemen, for your kindness that you heard me and not laughed very much about my language. (Loud applause and voices—"Tell us your story.") I beg your pardon, gentlemen ; I am too tired.

The story is as follows :

When 17 years old, Lieut. Utgoff entered the Russian Navy, and three years ago he went to his Admiral in the Black Sea and asked permission to join the aviation fleet, but was refused. According to their laws, such a request must not be made again for three months, but at the end of that period he came and asked again, but was again refused. The next day Lieut. Utgoff went and asked the Admiral if he could see him privately in his own home in a private capacity. This was granted, and then Lieut. Utgoff asked the Admiral his reason for refusing his request. The Admiral's reply was, "You are a young man ; we need you in our navy, and those foolish things that fly up in the air will be liable to kill you, and you will be living longer if you are in the navy." Mr. Utgoff replied, "I have lost my interest at the present time in life, and might as well lose it in going up in an aeroplane." The admiral said he was sorry, but he could not give his consent. Utgoff, putting his hand on the table, looked at the Admiral and said, "Sir, if you send your personal Secretary over to my apartments to-morrow morning by nine o'clock, you will find me dead in my room ; I will just as soon die to-day if I cannot go with the aeroplane fleet." The Admiral asked, "Are you crazy, man ?" He replied, "No, I am not crazy, but that is just how I feel about it." The Admiral replied, "Well, if that is the way you feel, if you are going to shoot yourself, you might as well go in an aeroplane, and I will let you go." So Utgoff was ready to go and when the Turks made war on Russia he was the commander of the aeroplane squadron under the Admiral in the Black Sea, and he received orders to go out with his ship that was specially prepared with seven or eight aeroplanes aboard, and then to fly from the ship. They heard that the Goeben was at the Dardanelles, and it behooved them not to come too close, as they did not know where the Goeben was, so it had to be done with aeroplanes directing them. Lieut. Utgoff started out the first day over the Bosphorus and over the forts, and as they were flying low, not expecting any enemy, a company of soldiers ran out and started shooting, and quite a few bullets hit the machine, but his Lieutenant beside him saw the company under him and he dropped a bomb and it was lucky enough to strike in the centre of the company, and not a man got away as far as they could see ; the five Russian machines that followed him could see that they were all killed. For weeks afterwards, whenever the Turks saw that they were coming, they always ran away and hid. Then they started touring around to find where the big forts and guns were concealed, but the big guns would not open up, so they got the Admiral to put in smaller ships that could go nearer shore, and leave his bigger ships out at sea. They tried to find where the Goeben was, and they took several photographs. The shrapnel shots quite often burst near the aeroplane, and they had to zig-zag around to get through, and on the second day coming out they flew around several times, but could not see the Goeben because that ship was further into the Bosphorus. Just then a mist settled down between the Russian fleet and the Bosphorus, but the aviators were over the mist and were able to see the Goeben coming out ; therefore they were going to come in under the shield of the mist and sink all those ships that were waiting outside the Bosphorus. Lieut. Utgoff was the last man with his aeroplane that was circling over the Goeben, and he saw it and circled over it, but two torpedo boats had preceded the Goeben and dropped several bombs, but they did not hit anything. He determined to ask the Admiral to bring up the big ships, but as he was leaving the Goeben his motor stopped, and he started volplaning right down to the Bosphorus, and the two torpedo boats started chasing him, and he was not away more than two and a half yards at this time when the mechanical man was fixing the carburettors, and just the last chance they had the operator pulled the wire that had to do with the carburettor and they started, and the Turks were right behind them and started to shoot at them with their machine guns, but they did not want to shoot before because they wanted to capture the aeroplane. Utgoff got away and told the Admiral, who brought up the full line of battleships, and each soldier stood ready, and as the Goeben came out to sea, the whole Russian fleet was there and immediately went in, and as they went back they put mines in the channel. When the Goeben came out the next time it struck two mines and blew part of it up. The next day they started out to one of the Turkish towns where they have mines and where the Turks got all the supplies of coal, and the power station is situated over a big hill and a big ravine, and the Russian Admiral wished to destroy that, but his gun would not reach from the sea to this ravine. Therefore, he sent his aeroplane squadron, and Lieut. Utgoff went over and dropped a lucky bomb which struck this big plant covering acres, and it happened to strike the gasoline storage tank and immediately exploded it. There were explosions in three or four places with the gasoline tanks, and it started to burn, and the whole place was set on fire. Just as he was flying away the last time to drop several more bombs, and had just made up his mind to fly away from this ravine, a terrific explosion occurred and the steam boilers exploded and the steam rose so fast that it caught the back part of his aeroplane and turned it right straight down, and he started to fall down right straight to the nose, but he was not so far up but what he could right himself and go away. If he had been farther away he would have turned completely over, and very likely perished ; but he came home, and this place burned for the next eight hours, and consequently it absolutely crippled the mining and transporting of coal for months. From what he tells me, that place cannot be used during the time of war, for a coal supply for manoeuvering the navy and big ships, and the Turks are short of coal and will not be able to operate it.

The vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. Albert Ham, and seconded by Mr. J. B. Perry.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE SITUATION

AN ADDRESS BY HON. PIERRE BLONDIN, M.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
December 16, 1915

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the kind words you have just uttered, and I will ask you, gentlemen, that you would grant me the privilege of using my notes in order to save your time and spare much trouble to myself and also, I might say, to you all.

The fact that, despite what you have heard of me ever since I first sat silently in the presidential chair of Commons, or even lately from a distinguished gentleman from my own province, the fact that you should have extended to me this opportunity of addressing you, proves to be, indeed, a signal honour to me, but still, a greater honour to you, evincing as it does your deep sense of "British fair play."

Confederation has brought along in its train a great deal of good, but also many evils, still to be remedied, and the worst evil of all, which both parties should fight against, is that tale-bearer business, in which few, but still too many politicians indulge, in reporting distorted speeches between the two sister-provinces, and commenting them, in such a way, as invariably to raise creed or race prejudices. From my childhood, I have cherished the hope of seeing that disrupting political process, brought to an end, and I would not find the courage to live a single minute more the political life were such tradition to be perpetuated and to remain the curse of another generation of men. War has shed a vivid light upon the Canadian world, and has supplied us with a solid method of testing the patriotism of all Canadians; war has supplied us with the trenches;

war has supplied us with those historic spots named Langemark, Festubert, St. Julien, to test Canadian patriotism, battlefields where all, English, Irish, French, Scotch, all glorious sons of Canada, have heroically fought side by side,—Protestants, Catholics, all creeds alike,—Liberals, Conservatives, and very soon Nationalists, in short all political parties. There they are fighting to prevent the world domination or supremacy of any race or nation and to save the liberty of all.

And, we are informed, we know, that no allied nation will ever sign a separate peace, until every one of them, from the smallest to the most powerful, is set in its full rights, and peace is assured for centuries to come, until the laws of humanity and Christianity are fully recognized as the sole base of the international law of the world. Thus will be achieved the ideal of the British Empire, which is an ideal of common protection for all the nations and full autonomy for each ; thus will be advanced the doctrine of Christ for peace, good will and love between the nations and individuals. Such are the spoils, let us hope, that our valiant boys will bring back from the front to Canada, to a Canada forever united, as a consequence of this epic conflict.

Blind and brutal organized force is the unglorious part of Germany in this war, destruction, her system, looting, her goal. German statesmanship has degenerated into piracy. The Kaiser alone made this war possible, but that much can be said of the Allied nations, that none of them could have brought forth a single soldier in the fight, had they not proved to the satisfaction of every one the sacredness of their cause, had not the conscience of the world, the heart of every civilized nation been throbbing in unison with them.

Such is democracy. To Germany, the British Empire leaves the task of forcing on her people a war they might not have desired, had they been free to judge and act according to their own light and the dictates of their own conscience. Fighting for Right, the British Empire leaves it to its sons, to its Dominions, to say if it shall wage and win this war. That is real liberty, the only liberty the world cares for, the only freedom capable of bringing a peace lasting for ever; that is the real British issue worth fighting for, that is the call we answered to, the call we will continue to obey till victory comes, whatever it may cost, whatever be the evils war may drag after it. By throwing their lot with the Allies the Dominions are helping to stop that wild "race to armaments."

It is too often lost sight of, in certain sections of this country that the French Canadians ever had but one country, never knew of any other land—and that land is Canada. Even under the French regime, those Canadian settlers had identified themselves with the new land to such an extent that that land was dearer to them than France itself, and they refused to quit it after the treaty of Paris, in 1763. It was even a reason for gratefulness to England that they were permitted to stay ; it was a stronger reason for gratefulness when they realized that they were not only permitted to stay but were given more liberty under the new regime than they had enjoyed under the French system. And, just one year after the cession they started fighting both for Canada and Imperial ideals.

France is dear to our hearts, indeed ; France is dearer to-day to us than she ever was before ;—we are proud of France. We feel that we would lose the light of intelligence, the heart of our hearts, if ever France should happen to disappear ;—it would be a loss that the whole world should lament, and,—why not say it now, it would be a loss to the Empire. What England not only desires but needs is, first, restitution to Belgium and an adequate guarantee to France that she shall never experience such other invasion as we have seen in August, 1914. Without a France which is prosperous, secure and independent, European civilization would be irreparably maimed and stunted. Yes, France is dear to us, but if you ask a French Canadian about his ancestors, where they came from, he will turn his eyes down to the soil where, for three hundred years, pioneers of civilization on this continent, great soldiers and great apostles are buried—all his forefathers—he will point his finger at their graves, and his answer will come: "This is my country, I know of no other."

You may not always find in him the readiness that sentiment added to reason so admirably prompts among other races, but his imperial ideas and patriotism are not the less solid for being based more on reason than sentiment, or on reason alone. I might venture to say more,—it has been to the benefit of Canada that French Canadians looked at these issues more from the angle of reason than of sentiment, which led them many times to turn a deaf ear to the call of the enemies of the Empire and Canada,—which led them in a time when they were an overwhelming majority, to fight for the preservation of Canada to the Empire, just one year after the cession, and later, in 1775 and 1812.

There is no province in the Dominion where, on account of the differences of creeds and races, prejudice, if listened to, could be more easily raised than in the Province of Quebec. There is no Province in Canada which receives those appeals with more contempt than the Province of Quebec and dismisses them with such scant courtesy. There is no Province where French and English live in more cordial relations. And to this fact, gentlemen, the thousands of French girls who have married men of British extraction, the thousands of English beauties who have married French Canadians, gracefully bear an eloquent testimony.

For reasons that you may well realize, organization, in the present instance, is more difficult and requires slower process, in Quebec, than in any other province. Just take into account the words and actions of our public men, our local government, our clergy, the deeds of those ten thousand French Canadians who are in the trenches, and you will find reason to believe what I am just going to say. Before this winter is over, before it is half past, we shall have in Quebec more men and more regiments than the Minister of Militia can provide for and equip, more than the proportion fixed as our fair share in this war. We may have lacked organization, we do not lack patriotism. We have no grudge against the people of any other province in the Dominion, no ambition to lord over any of them. Here as well as in the trenches we wish to be only unequal to none, equal to all. If my native province could be charged with indifference in this world-wide conflict, where the life of the civilized world is at stake, I would say, and I know I am voicing the feelings of the French Canadian heart and soul, I would say : "Wipe it out of the map of the Dominion, let its name be buried in oblivion for the sake of our own children."

We feel as strongly as you do, that after this war is over, there will be no other word than shame to stigmatize the man who proclaims himself indifferent to its issues, no spot on earth that he can call his country without bringing disgrace and dishonour to it.

With you, with the Empire, with the civilized world, we feel that we must protest in arms against that doctrine of Bernhardi that treaties only bind a nation when it is to its interest, to keep them ; nor do we, with a cynical contempt for public law, assert with the German chancellor that a treaty is only a scrap of paper.

And to quote Lloyd George, this doctrine of the scrap of paper goes under the root of all public law ; it is the straight road to barbarism. And to quote Doctor Dillon : "This phrase, applied to a binding treaty, is destined to stick like a Nessus' shirt to the memory of its author, his imperial inspirer, and their country, until such time as the militarism which originated it has been consumed without residue. It is a Satanic sneer hurled with fell purpose into a world of civilized human beings. No such powerful dissolvent of organized society has been devised since men first began to aggregate. The primal cause of the inner cohesive force which holds the elements of society together is faith in treaties, faith in the plighted word. Destroy that and you have withdrawn the cement from the structure, which will forthwith crumble away."

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I have already taken too much of your time, but in closing these remarks let me say this in behalf of the Government of Canada.

Difficult as is the task of attending to the government of this country in time of peace, it is a much more exhaustive, a much more complicated task when, in such times as these the forecast of the most fertile imagination is left far behind.

But, we have reached that stage where party success and party advantages matter not, and become a negligible quantity. Happen what may to me, happen what may to this Goverment afterwards, I care not, we care not, so long as this country is safe, so long as this Empire of freedom is safe. Nay, let us put it in the way the Allies put it ; in the way it will resound for centuries in the temples of nations ; what matters it if we live or not, so long as the heritage of nineteen centuries of civilization is left safe for those who come after us.

Before taking my seat I thought I would take the privilege of quoting part of a letter from a high official of the Church in Quebec. The letter is marked "private" and therefore you will excuse me from giving the name, but as an instance of what our clergy think in Quebec I will read that part. Before doing so let me tell you that I started with my colleagues the campaign in Quebec, and I must confess that I myself did not render justice to my compatriots ; they were by far more disposed than we would believe for it, and I have the pleasure of speaking with Priests around me delivering much more stirring speeches than I could do myself. This is the extract :—

"Mr. Minister,—my first word will be a word of congratulation for all the kind speeches that you delivered in the Province of Quebec. They promote enthusiasm and admiration. I hope that you will succeed in teaching the people the position of Canada in the present war. I regret most deeply to notice that there are always people who use their talents to sow division. It is so consoling during the war to see the two parties united and working for the noble cause of liberty and civilization. Good courage, and let us live with the hope of victory."

In closing, I will repeat those words of my good old friend, "Good courage, gentlemen, and let us live with the hope of victory." I thank you.

The vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Castell Hopkins and seconded by Mr. A. E. Donovan, M.P.P.

WITH CANADA AT THE FRONT

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT. G. R. FORNERET

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
January 13, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I was peculiarly gratified at being asked to speak to the Empire Club because that entity—the Empire—was to me an outstanding feature, the most noticeable of everything I saw and everything I did. To a Canadian, born in Canada, having lived all his life in Canada, and who had never been across the ocean to the heart of the Empire, it was a revelation. To most native-born Canadians, the British Empire is a great institution, represented visually by large red spaces on the map of the world. We see and meet people in a vague sort of way from different parts of the Empire. We know their statistics—how big various places are—but it is only in a big, vague sort of way.

When we went over to England we met men from every conceivable part of the Empire. In order to give you an impression of what it meant to native-born Canadians to first get into touch with the heart of things of the British Empire, I will read from a letter I wrote at the time, and the sentiments—sensations, shall I call them ?—were shared by approximately 30,000 more people as we were crossing the ocean. Our transports went over in three lines and we were convoyed by certain battleships. One of them was the Princess Royal, a magnificent ship, absolutely the last word in battle-cruisers. She had been keeping some distance to our left flank. "In the afternoon, about five o'clock, the cry went about the ship 'The Princess Royal' is coming in." Sure enough she was. We crowded the rail to watch her as she lazily overtook us. She was paying us the compliment of an afternoon visit. On she came, looming larger and larger. Now we could make out the great guns in tiers protruding from the forward turrets ; now we could see the crowded fighting tops ; now the decks, stripped to the steel plates for action. Now we saw the crew, hundreds of them, lining the decks. Now she was up to our stern. Her band was playing "O, Canada !" As she started to draw abreast there was a broadside of British cheers from her—crash—crash—crash—with a vibrant human note of patriotism and fellowship. Then we went clean mad. We scrambled to deck, breaking for points of vantage, and cheered and cheered until we were hoarse and dizzy. So she sailed past, proud, rugged, ugly, huge and magnificent. Our ensigns dipped, and the deep-throated greeting crashed and echoed from ship to ship till she passed on and we stood gazing devouringly after her. There wasn't anything to say. It was just British glory on the sea—and we were British. A senior officer clinging to the davit next me, kept repeating hoarsely to himself, his eyes shining through his tears, "My God—My God," like that.

Acting on several suggestions, I will speak on two subjects. First, I will give you a very brief outline of the organization of the army. Then I will tell you a little about life in the trenches.

People have no idea of the comprehensiveness of an army. All the trades, all the professions, the various arts and crafts are represented ; clergymen, doctors, even humble limbs of the law like myself have their usefulness in the army. Then the supplies of an army are something which a good many people do not realize. By applying to the proper sources you can get everything from a safety-pin to a 15-inch gun ; food, clothing, ammunition, building material, fortifying material, all sorts of luxuries—tobacco, cigarettes, even cigars, rum, various sorts of wines. There is practically nothing you cannot get from someone or other in the army.

First, of all, as you know, the army system starts with General Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, who is the head of the whole force. No important move can be carried out without his sanction. All information comes back to him, sifted out by the staff, some of it placed on charts, some of it on maps, some of it filed away, a great deal of it committed to memory.

Next to that is Army Headquarters. When we went over we were in the first Army under Sir Douglas Haig, who is now Commander-in-Chief of the whole of the forces in France—we had that good fortune.

Then, next to the Army, is the Division. When we went over to France, we were a complete Division. We had the whole business—infantry, cavalry, artillery, field Ambulance, mechanical transport, engineers, everything. We had only been over there something better than a week, when they moved us up as a Division to take the place of the Seventh Division of the British army, which, to the best of my knowledge, is something that has not happened to any division, outside of regulars, British or otherwise, since the war started. Usually raw troops are put on the lines of communication—that is, they are allowed to play at active service, so as to get used to it ; but, beyond going into the trenches for two very short hours to learn, we had no experience, before we were put in to take the place of the famous "fighting Seventh." Our divisional Commander, General Alderson, is, I suppose, one of the very, very few men who could take command of a division such as ours and make the success he has. He is a commander of rare distinction and a friend of great personal charm. He has the peculiar faculty of making every officer and man feel that he is their personal friend. One small instance will illustrate his method. When we first got to France, I happened to be in charge of two platoons which acted as rear guard, and consequently were separated from the battalion. I got the men into billets, but they had very little food, none having been issued for a day and a half, so they were naturally rather hungry as there had been a good deal of marching. General Alderson, with his staff, came riding into the court-yard of the farm and asked me how things were going. I said, "very well, sir." He said "What about rations ?" He seems to have an uncanny way of knowing what you want. I told him we had not any, and for how long. He said he would see that we were fixed up. He rode away with his staff, and in half an hour a British transport waggon, loaded to the gunwales with grub for those two platoons, turned in and said they had been sent from Headquarters on Gen. Alderson's orders. That was all right as far as it went. About two or three days after that, late one dull and rainy afternoon, I was walking along the road. Now, the whole place was fairly crawling with lieutenants—they were all over the shop. My cap was pulled down and I was feeling very disgruntled, when Gen. Alderson came along with his staff. I stepped into the ditch, gave a very regimental salute, and prepared to go on, but he stopped, and said "By the way, did your men get those rations I sent them three days ago ?" There you see his thoughtfulness. It is a small thing, but he had a whole division on his hands ; and what is one subaltern among so many ?

After the division comes the brigade. Colonel (now General) Currie was our Brigade Commander. He is now commander of the First Division—a very fine man. We had been in rather a scratch brigade, a lot of surplus troops and people who came late. Finally the Tenth Battalion had the honour of being selected to take the place in the Second Brigade vacated by the Fort Garry Horse which was to be used as cavalry remounts. We had been used to barging along in an ambling sort of way, discipline being maintained individually to a certain state of happy-go-luckiness. Our new Brigadier, Col. Currie, came along to inspect us one day. A brigade inspection usually consists of the Brigadier moving along in front of the Companies, looking them over with a critical eye, and saying something about being very well pleased with the smart appearance of the brigade. We thought he would do that—but he didn't. He got the ranks separated and then walked down and examined each individual man. He found twelve cases of no shave and a few cases of dirty buttons, and went over each separate man in that battalion.

That is the sort of man he is. Of course there were no more unshaven men, even when they were on field manœuvres. They all sort of kept the tail of their eye open for Col. Currie. Now he is in command of the First Division, and he is a very capable man ; a very strict man but a very able man. Troops will depend on their leader if they know he is able, and does not sacrifice them, and knows what they can do and knows they will do it. They simply like his strictness all the better, because he knows what he is talking about.

Now I will tell you a little about the trenches—the most difficult things to describe that one can well imagine. I think the description given by Frederick Palmer in his book is the best I have ever read. A trench may be almost anything. It may consist of a pile of sandbags with a six-inch ditch behind, or of an elaborate system of fine positions and dug-outs and observation posts and all sorts of things. The common feature of all trenches is that they are excavated, and therefore lower than the ground, and therefore always wet. To try to make you feel what I felt I will describe my feelings on first going into the trenches. We first went in at "Plugstreet" which is distinguished chiefly by a hill which rises to one side of it. On the top of the hill was a chateau belonging to a certain famous Irish gentleman who manufactures a decoction emblazoned with three stars. It was dark when we got up to Plugstreet. At first I heard that a guide was coming along and in the dark I had to find him. But to an untrained observer behind the trenches the men all look the same. You have no idea of the sameness of a crowd of troops in khaki without badges. Then I was told that I had to get my platoon into single file and to march very slowly and quietly. No one was to smoke or speak or allow anything to rattle, and we were to go along at slight intervals and not lose touch with each other. We had a sergeant of the Royal Irish Fusiliers to take us in. When we started up the road we were behind the shelter of a hill, and then we rounded a turn and moved parallel to both lines of trenches, Canadian and German. This sergeant kept talking to me in stage whispers. I did wish he would keep quiet because I was apprehensive. No one knew what we were going to do. Presently we came towards a brick wall and were told that this was a target for German machine guns ; that "they get the range in the day time and spray it with bullets at night."

I asked the sergeant how long it was since the last spray. He replied that they had not done it for some time so it was about due. Honestly, I had a very creepy feeling walking along that road about fifty yards from the wall. I asked what would happen if they began to spray just as we were there. The sergeant said "Every one into the ditch." As I went along I wished they would start and get the thing over. It is astonishing what human sensations you have under those circumstances. You don't feel particularly soldierly. I have just as much antipathy to a man shooting me in uniform as in mufti.

I was at the head of my platoon. My sensations in walking past that brick wall with one eye on the wall, one eye on the ditch and one eye on the road, were very much the sensations one has in playing musical chairs—only, in this instance, we were waiting for the music to start instead of stop. However, to our great relief, nothing happened at all.

The first thing we saw coming toward us out of the darkness was a stretcher party. They employed six men and carried the stretches on their shoulders, the wounded fellow covered with a blanket to his chin. Then a second stretcher party met us out of the darkness,—and the figure on that stretcher was completely covered by a blanket. That was the first we saw of the ultimate price a man can pay to keep his country clean. Then we turned off the road and saw a poor Highlander, who had been hit, being looked after by a medical party. It was very upsetting. When we got about 25 yards further a bullet sang across, apparently close to my nose. I felt tied up in a knot. Four of my men coming behind me in single file, afterwards came and told me confidentially that this particular bullet had gone between him and the man in front of him. It did not, of course, but it came close enough to be quite uncomfortable. No man who goes to the front is naturally fearless at first. If any man tells me he likes being shot at, I do not think he is brave—I think he is crazy. I don't mind admitting that the first time we went over that flat country I was jolly well afraid. I wanted to squat down behind sonething. I wanted to go home—anywhere where those haphazard bullets weren't. After the first two or three times you do really get more or less used to it.

Well, we kept on going, all the time looking for the trenches. The mud in Flanders is of the most oozy description. They have single boards across the ditches and you invariably slip off them. It had been raining, but by this time a pale moon was struggling to emerge and I saw ahead a long wriggling black smudge. We came a little closer and I saw a light, a very dull glow. Then I heard a muffled Irish voice—it was the Royal Irish Fusiliers' trench—and that muffled voice under my feet was saying "Who in hell got my pack?" So I knew we had arrived. I could just make out the outline of a man's cap against this dull light from a brazier. The cap wasn't military. The uniforms at the front are the most extraordinary conglomeration you ever saw in your life. A platoon going into the trenches looks more like a gang of railway labourers—some with Balaklava helmets, some with tuques, some with waterproof sheets about their shoulders, some wearing rubber boots, some wearing Strathconas, some wheeling barrows and others carrying bundles over their shoulders. It is about as distantly removed as one can imagine, from the ordinary conception of a military performance. We had to stand behind the trench for a while, then we slithered down a sort of crazy bank and found ourselves in the trenches under cover, and very glad to be there. A trench is just a big ditch. In some places it is shored up. In other places it is built with sandbags and sheets of corrugated iron. There are sketchy floors in some trenches, which are blown up periodically. You work for a week making your trench dry and comfortable, then a shell comes along and blows the whole thing up. We simply have to get along as best we can from day to day. There is not much fun in putting in an elaborate system of drainage when it will inevitably be smashed. A dug-out is a hole scooped out of a mud-bank. I have heard of dug-outs with furniture and pianos—but I have not seen them. As a rule they leak. Constant concussion of the shells is bound to loosen the sides. There is always something in the nature of bedding or a bunk in a dug-out. It usually consists of a board, standing on its edge, about three feet from the wall. According to regulations you will fill that space with dry straw, but usually there is no dry straw to be had. Then there is a table of sorts and possibly a chair of sorts. Of course, if one's batman is clever with saw and hammer, he can make quite an elaborate set of furniture. One fellow found a pair of German boots sticking through the wall, with toes turned up, and used them to hang his kit on—the place having been used as a cemetery. It is astonishing how men at the front can get used to what in civil life would be most revolting. I found a new man most violently ill, who had been digging a dug-out and had come across a long defunct Hun. They are more of a nuisance dead than alive, for you are always running into them, and they won't move, so you must.

The most unreal sensation for a beginner in the trenches is when morning comes, you look through the periscope towards the enemy trench to see the source of danger—and none is visible. You see a field, perhaps a ruined building, see what looks like barbed wire fences with an earth bank behind them—but no sign of life. You are so apt to trust your eyes that one man always has to be the goat to prove to his comrades that there is danger. One of my men, after observing, went back to get his cap which was near a loop-hole that had been left open. I remonstrated with him, but he said nothing was going to happen to him. He took about three steps and crack ! he was shot clean through the head from 200 or 300 yards distance through a loophole a foot wide. The German snipers have telescopic sights and you cannot show your head for a minute. You have about one chance in ten of getting down alive and you are almost certain to be wounded.

The ultimate feeling back of every man's mind as he goes to the front is that he may be killed. Sometimes we talk about it—not very often—but that is the one thing that is above and beyond everything. Many of the good fellows of my battalion are now lying behind the trenches somewhere. There is a quiet spot behind the shoulder of a hill—one of the few quiet spots along the front. And as I stood there in the twilight of the pines, beside the grave of one of my men, I could not help thinking "What better end could a man want?" At home we are buried with all the dreadful panoply of death. Out there his own personal friends wrap a man in his blanket, and, quietly, at night, lay him beneath the open pines ; and there he lies, while the guns and shells are playing the most magnificent requiem that it is possible for a man to have. His name ranks with the heroes and martyrs of all ages. And he was just a common man who was used to going to his office, to tea in the afternoon and to the theatre. By one stroke he has achieved what has been sought for by all the greatest men who had a goal and an ambition—by any man who had any ambition—to do some one thing with that gift he calls his life to make that life worth the living,—to make his own country and his own Empire the cleaner, the better and the freer.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

THE PLIGHT OF MONTENEGRO

An Address By CAPT. A. V. SEFROVITCH

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
January 27, 1916

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I feel very much honoured by your kind invitation to be with you to-day, and I feel happier than on many days when I am working and worrying in New York. Of course, worrying is not Christian-like; but how can one help not worrying. I am one of those who have given all to Montenegro and for the Holy Cause. I have given my money and all that I could give. I have given my health, as last summer, on account of the hard work I was doing, I was broken down nervously. I have also given my son. All of you here have given something to your own country, all that you could, otherwise you would not be present. Although I am not a speaker, I am going to tell you about the plight of Serbia and Montenegro in the best way I can, about these two countries which in olden times used to be one country, but which were separated by the invasion of the Turks. Since the invasion of the Serbian soil by the Turks over five hundred years ago, we Montenegrins have fought the Islam, side by side with the Serbians. Before the Seventh century, the Serbians used to dwell just where is now Galicia and they are known to be of the same race as the "Little Russian," or the Southern Russian of to-day. In the Seventh century they descended southward and crossed the Danube, perhaps in search of better land, because they were farmers—but that does not mean that they were not fighters. In the history of England and your colonies, I think you will find, that the farmers were always the best fighters. After crossing the Danube, the Serbians settled where you find them to-day—that is the region between the Danube and the Adriatic Sea. There they found such a lovely country that to-day you will scarcely find a real Serbian from Serbia in America and those who have come to America are those who were under the Austrian yoke. As I said before, the Serbians were farmers, and in the lovely place where they settled they went on with their work, and, as superiority is prevailing, they soon spread their qualities to their neighbours. Even if a superior race is under an invader it is natural that the latter will always imitate the best qualities of the oppressed one. The Serbians were very industrious and their neighbours learned much from them,—especially how to plough. By and by the Ellyrians of the Roman Empire who occupied the country before the Serbians' arrival disappeared, and this is why the Serbians of to-day have a little drop of Roman blood in their veins. We Montenegrins are those Serbians who were braver and stronger physically and who ventured further South in search, perhaps, of still better climate and conditions more suitable to their fighting qualities. It seems that the Serbians of the Seventh century were divided into tribes that reached the farthest South, of whom we Montenegrins are descendants, and founded in the valley of the little river Zetta a state by the same name, which was ruled by chiefs of clans—just like the Scotch people—and this because they were mountaineers. Now please mark this, that Zetta, or Montenegro, has been independent ever since the Serbians came into Europe and even under the rule of the Tzars of Serbia. Tazar Lazar was the last emperor of the Serbians and he lost the battle at Kossovo, the biggest battle against the Turks in 1389, and with this battle the rule of the Tzars of Serbia ends. But notwithstanding that since 1389 the Serbians were for 500 years under Turkish rule, they were continually fighting against their oppressors and during this time two dynasties have successively ruled—the Obrenovittch and the Karagorovitch as princes, and later as kings. Serbia has been in a geographical position so as to form a wall against invaders who were coming from the North and to others from the East. The Huns, about 1,025 years ago, came to face them on the river Danube, and finding that the Serbians were too strong, spread the swarm of invasion to reach Rome. The cruel Turks of to-day would have reached even Paris had it not been for the Serbians. This is because the Turkish wave became exhausted in the battles in Serbia and when it reached Vienna in 1617 and when Vienna was menaced, who chased them back ? The Slavs again ! Sobieski, king of Poland, chased them back from under the walls of Vienna. We Montenegrins, having been separated from Serbia by the Turkish invasion in 1389, since we had to fight our battles separately, but we have never been conquered. We fought for over 500 years and the Turks never could return to tell the tale. When Zetta, under Ivan Coernoetitch extended its dominion also over Scutari and the Turks were nearing this place, this chief called all the clans of Zetta together and said to them : "Sons of Zetta, up those black mountains that you see there, you will find shelter against the barbarians who are menacing us." Therefore they abandoned the town of Scutari and retired into the barren black rocks just where you find us to-day. And there the Montenegrins have been living and enjoying independency until they have been lately invaded by the Austro-Huns. Unfortunately these last barbarians were better provided with modern artillery and they attacked Montenegro—about 200-000 against 30,000 between the ages of 16 and 75 on a front of over 300 miles. We had practically no artillery, clothing or food. How could we resist that invasion ? As long as Serbia was not invaded, we had only a front of 50 miles to defend, with about 25,000 soldiers. Well, that was possible against 100,000 Austrians on a front of about 50 miles, but since Serbia has been invaded and since the Bulgarians and Germans have reached the eastern border of our country, we were surrounded from three sides, that is ; from the North by the Austro-Hungarians, from the East by the joint Austrian army and the Austrian fleet bombarding Mt. Lovchin, from the West by the Bulgarians and Germans and from the South by the northern Albanians who were hostile to our cause, except the Albanian general, Essed Pasha, a recent friend of our King. Our King who has ruled over fifty years over his beloved people is not only the king but also has been like a father to all of us ; he has no difficult court ceremonials and receives every Montenegrin who wishes to speak to him. Thus this lovely father of our heroic people of Mountaineers has acquired the admiration, friendship and esteem of the world, but the Huns have robbed him of his throne. Even Essed Pasha the defender of Scutari who fought us in 1913 was in this last struggle with us and the allies ; this is greatly due to the good policy of our King, who besides being a diplomat is also a poet and a brave soldier. This old venerable gentleman, our King, is over eighty but still young. He is now the guest of great France, which is the best proof that this country too recognizes his loyalty to the holy cause. His Majesty the Czar of Russia has sent a special Ambassador to the new quarters of my King, which action will dissipate all false reports by enemies' agents, peoples serving the Huns. The King and people that have been great in victories are now still greater in their sufferings.

I have published a protest in the American papers against some false rumours and false insinuations which aim to harm my country, and in the same protest I have described also our army. About 30,000 men was the maximum that my country could put on a real footing at the beginning of the hostilities against the Turks in 1912. Since that date we fought side by side with the Serbians, the Bulgarians and the Greeks, against the hated Turks, and then when Bulgaria treacherously attacked Serbia, after the Turkish War, we again went to help our brethren, the Serbians. For six days 10,000 of our braves, making 48 miles in about 24 hours, went like lightning to join the Serbian soldiers against Bulgaria. I think that we broke some records, but our men are a little taller than I am. They are provided with long legs and they make such long steps. They are very frugal in their eating. Of course they were marching through villages that were friendly to them, that is on Serbian soil, but when they reached the trenches they were so tired that our noble brethren the Serbians told them "you will not fight to-day, but stand in reserve" but those 10,000 brave Montenegrins did not accept this kind offer and went straight to the firing lines. On the firing line they were so impatient to attack the enemy that they stamped the earth like horses. As the Montenegrins do not like to fight in trenches but in the open, they went straight to the Bulgarian trenches and dislodged them, revolvers in hand.

Another characteristic of the Montenegrins is their hatred for bayonets, and, as I said before, when they reached the enemies' trenches the Bulgarians seeing this new kind of warfare, those who were not dead in the trenches took to their heels. This is how we won the day against the Bulgarians.

In time of peace Montenegro had only one hospital with 40 beds and there were only four doctors in Cettigne but none elsewhere. This is because the population of Montenegro is so healthy. Doctors have been rather only for show. The one engaged in the royal palace was there perhaps to tell the king "how healthy you look, Majesty, you are just as young as a boy of twenty." Indeed he never pretends to be more than twenty and is strong and healthy yet.

When war broke out against Austria we were again without medicines and doctors. I have some accounts from Dr. Gutcha, an American doctor, who volunteered with the Montenegrins and Serbians and was with the unfortunate expedition of 500 reservists that I had gathered in Canada and who were lost at St. John of Medua as well as 600 tons of supplies,—my work for six months. He tells that in order to cope with a great quantity of cases of articular rheumatism, in absence of medicines, Dr. Gutcha had to advise his patients to heat pieces of rock and apply them to the sore places and alleviate the pain.

On the occasion of the destruction of the boat with the above mentioned reservists which left Halifax on December 8th, and which was sunk, we lost also a very fine American nurse who died as a heroine. She gave what she could—her life—for our country and for the holy cause of the Red Cross. She was a nurse of the Red Cross in Serbia since 1912 and came here to see her parents in New York and expressed the wish to go back to help the Montenegrins. We have given a memorial to her in the Bohemian Presbyterian church in New York, and we also hope to do something for her family. Montenegrins are always faithful and they never forget the good done to them. Perhaps you will be interested to know something about the difference of character between the Serbians and the Montenegrins, although we are the same race. Serbians are down when they are in sorrow and very happy when they are well and prosperous. They express their feelings very much like the French. We Montenegrins are more like the Scotch. We are a little more silent, and this is why we have no good talkers.

Both Serbians and Montenegrins are lovers of music. Our strictly national instrument is the "Gouzla," a primitive instrument like a small tambourine, carved out in cherry wood with only one string of horse hair and on which one plays with a small bow just as primitive as the instrument itself. The man that plays the instrument is the "Gouzlar." Usually "Gouzlars" are rapsods, very old men that walk from village to village singing in rhyme the history of the Serbians, our victories as well as our sufferances. Thus for lack of printed history which did not exist in the old time, our youth have learned it from the mouth of the venerable gouzlars and transmitted it further in the same way to their sons. Of course the instrument itself is very monotonous but it serves to give the rhythm to the dull song of our historian. We owe to the "Gouzla" and the Gouzlar" our national existence, there is our life, our traditions, and everything else. When the "Gouzlar" sings and plays, everybody round gathers to listen attentively and to learn by heart his tales. It is there in these circles under a tree or round a fire, that heroes have sprung, and full of courage inspired by our true history, they have repulsed bravely the cruel Turk.

Montenegrins do not enjoy jolly tales of some kinds. They do not consider them nice. They do not swear, do you hear that; and drunkards in the streets would be a shame for the Montenegrins. I myself am a tee-totaler. Montenegrins are very proud of their national dress which shows also artistic taste of the race. As you see me here in this attire, there are a great many of them walking in the streets of Cettigne, and as the king wears the same costume as the people and the soldiers, it is considered a shame for any Montenegrin to be immoral. The best thing for the Montenegrin is the family. The family is based on religious principles as we are all Christians. We have very few Mohammedans in our country and very few Roman Catholics, just some at the Albanian border and the only religion among Montenegrins is the Greek Oriental; but we are not fanatics, and this is why we tolerate missions in our country and everything connected with Christian work. Only it would be a most difficult thing to convert a Montenegrin or a Serbian from his religion to another. I know families where they ask the blessing at every meal ; I know families where the father would send out of doors a son who would swear ; I know families who, if there is an intoxicated member in the family, would send him out of their family or send him over the border. Such are our families and the cause why Montenegro is such a healthy nation. We marry young and have many children, as many as the Lord can give. The Germans, as barbarians, are different and do not possess the same qualities. and the soldiers that they have in the trenches to-day—the sons of that race—are merely products of immorality, because no country in the world is more up-to-date with white slavery than Germany. It would perhaps require three days for me to speak of Germany's white slavery, and I know it, as I was in Germany for some time. Our young people are the products of marriage, of love, blessing and health and everything to call a man a man. If the Montenegrins have not increased as greatly as they should, it is because the mortality amongst children in their infancy is very great, and because of continuous wars. We do not take care of our babies in the modern ways of hygienic rules. The Serbian and Montenegrin mother has to work hard. The Serbian and Montenegrin father has to work hard, too, and very often children are left to take care of themselves while their parents are working in the open fields and mountains, and are left out in the cold. There are, as I have said, no doctors and no medicines and such are the conditions forcibly, or because our people do not know better. But those of the children who survive all these hardships and exposure, in their later age, can survive almost anything. This is why the Serbians and Montenegrins have made such good soldiers. The Austrians and the Bulgarians know that, and while we have heard that the country has been invaded and the Austrians have taken the rule there, they have perpetrated the greatest cruelties that any one can imagine in order to destroy such a strong and noble race. Wholesale slaughters are taking place there. In Serbia as well as in Bosnia Herzegovina they have taken boys by the hundreds and filed them alongside the wall and shot them. I have brought to-day to the President of your Club a number of photographs taken on the spot and I vouch for the truth. These photographs have been given to me by a representative of the Serbian Government. They show atrocities such as not even wild animals could do. It is something awful. Jawbones and arms that have been skinned with an open knife, pregnant women violated and then bayoneted left and right. Do you know any brute of any kind that would do that? Germans, too, and Bulgarians, too. Similar atrocities as those above mentioned have been perpetrated also by Germans on Russian soldiers and population, and I am sorry not to have with me to-day photographs in possession of some of my colleagues. *Bulgarians are not Slavs.* They come from Asia on the Volga River and that is why they are called Volgarians, because they are vulgar. As I said before, if the invader is inferior he always copies or adopts, so the Bulgarians, not having a language, adopted ours, because we were superior and because theirs was too ugly. While their language is not like ours, it is just a little similar. Look at the Bulgarian lips, how thick they are. I am just like you. Look at their noses how flat and big they are. I am not like them. We have also a fair people just like the Scotch. Perhaps you will take me for a Scotchman, but I swear I have never tasted a drop of it. Montenegrins are just like Scotchmen. They have a little bagpipe. Yours is a little bigger, but Scotland is a bigger country too. We have only 10,000 square miles of land and before 1912 we had only 8,000 square miles. It is on that territory that we used to lick the Turks. On 8,000 square miles and with a population of only 300,000 inhabitants. After the last Balkan war we got some more people of our race who were under the Turkish domination and thus we have increased our population to nearly half a million inhabitants. I have said that Montenegrins are more like Scotch ; they have the sword dance like the Scotch. They are thinkers like the Scotch, and they are poets like the Scotch. The King is one of our best poets and nearly every Montenegrin can write some verses. They say that a child cried in rhyme whilst corrected by his mother. They are big smokers and comparing this Club with a gathering in Montenegro, it gives me the impression of being in Montenegro itself. Montenegrins do not chew tobacco in our country ; they do not know what that is—but they learn it in the United States, perhaps.

The Montenegrin woman is a little different from your ladies, and she is the mother who has given life to those brave soldiers. She is different because she works hard. For five centuries our men went battling and had no time to do any farm work around the house, and in time when he was allowed to rest a little and enjoy the family life he dressed in his best attire, like a little lord, with his pistols and knives. In the war he used to carry very often two guns, and while he was unloading one, his wife, who very often accompanied him to the firing lines, used to load the other. Our poor women had to do all of the housework as well as carrying on her back anything that was necessary for the firing lines—just like a little pack donkey. She used to carry the food for her husband as well as ammunition. She used to give the soldiers motherly care, and was a nurse to the wounded under the whistling bullets of the enemy's fire, and so she has done in this last war. Please read the French reports about this, and do not listen to the Austrian reports—I am sure you will not—these false reports have given out a statement that Montenegro has surrendered. The Montenegrins will not surrender ! Yes, my grandmother at home will surrender, but my mother has gone with the soldiers to Scutari and down to Albania. She is carrying on her back all the belongings and food and ammunition that the men could not bring. There is my mother ! My grandmother only is left at home. The Bulgarians and Huns want to show a big victory over a little country like Montenegro by killing non-combatants.

Our great Allies have been fighting for eighteen months against the enemy, what could a poor army of 25,000 Montenegrins do against a many times stronger foe ? What could Montenegro do with guns of old Russian pattern (guns of 1898) worn out with four years' fighting, with 2 batteries of cannon taken from the forts of Leghorn, Italy, which we bought in 1896, when they were dismantled and put out of commission ; with three batteries which the French in their great generosity gave us, and many a brave French artillery man and instructor died in Montenegro. We had also a few machine guns from England and a few we helped ourselves to from the Austrians. That is what we had for artillery and muskets. We also had two batteries of field artillery presented to us by the

Serbians and this was taken by the Serbians from the Turks in the battle of Kumanovo. This is how we were provided with artillery and rifles. We also lacked clothing, food and medical supplies. In some instances our soldiers went without food for two days, and for three or four days there were braves in the trenches living mostly on onions and bacon, with no bread, no medicines and no doctors. Many of your officers who are sitting in the room on my right hand side will tell you what life in the trenches means, when they have to pump the water out in order to find a dry spot, when after a long war they nearly all suffer of rheumatism, and have no medicine to alleviate their pains, but are obliged to heat pieces of rock and wrap them in pieces of bag and put them around their knees. Under these conditions my countrymen could not keep the fight up any longer,—but they are still fighting. They have not yet surrendered, I tell you. If there was a surrender, a traitor would not live among the Montenegrins, for they would kill him. Our King is in France and another part of the government is in Italy. The tribes of Kutch are still holding out, our General Martinovitch is retiring towards Scutari. The hostile population of Albania fired at the poor Serbians and Montenegrins from the windows of houses.

"The Anger of the Lord is slow, but it cometh," says the Bible. I know the Bible. There are 150,000 Serbians in Albania, but I do not know exactly where. They are re-organizing and putting themselves into good shape, and when Spring will come you will see them out on the march again, and if you Canadians send half a million men and if you do all you can do, you will see that we are going to win a great victory by April or May, or before that.

I can tell you confidentially that those barbarians who were shooting at our poor refugees were descending the plain of Albania and those who were shooting at the retiring Serbian army, are no longer there to tell the tale, for the Serbian soldiers who were left alive knew what to do. The commandment is, of course, "Thou shalt not kill," but thou shalt defend thyself, and we are all in self defence in this war and nothing else.

Some one asked me in this meeting who I thought was the best general in this war, and I dared to tell him that the best General in this war can be found in this little book which I put at your disposal through the kindness of my mother-in-law who belongs to the Presbyterian Church (the little book proved to be the Gospel of St. John printed in English for the use of soldiers). As good Christians we will have our good victory which will be the victory of God and righteousness—the victory for which we are fighting for the Holy Christian Religion. A Bohemian nurse who came back from the war told me that she could not see a plain soldier in Montenegro—that they were all officers. This, of course, is because our soldiers at night crawled to the bodies of the shot Austrian officers and took away their uniforms and wore them. I spoke to a Montenegrin about the Canadian officers in Halifax. As he was educated in a high school, I asked him why he did not go and join the Canadian forces. He asked me what the pay was. I said $100 for a lieutenant. He asked me how long it would take for the training. I answered six weeks for a lieutenant. "Then," he said "how would it do for me to stay six months and get a generalship."

Gentlemen, those Canadian officers of six weeks will be heroes of future battles and will bring you back tales that you have not heard of before of their bravery. I am sure of that, because in Halifax especially I have been looking at their faces and I could see their determined jaw bones. Those men who are there in the trenches are getting to learn in six days more than they have learned in six weeks. The modern way of fighting is different from the ancient, and some one has said that courage is not required in modern warfare. On the contrary courage is required. Your forefathers who came first to Canada worked their way to the woods and they worked hard to build their muscles, and you are the sons of those who developed these muscles, and you still have them. Canada is a country much extended with beautiful woods and although some of you live in cities you live close to nature and close to God. It is a healthy country and a healthy nation and we want healthy young men who will make good soldiers, just as good as the Montenegrins. I understand the Canadians are going to give the Allies and their mother country, England, a big force which will prove to be at its height. It has already proved to be so. You will find that you will have a special page in history where they will mention Canada. I am sure of it. It cannot be otherwise and it should make you especially proud of it. I am asking you from my heart that you shall not for a moment forget this war, and that you should do as I do. I work the whole day for the holy cause. I do nothing but that. If I were consul with big pay, perhaps I would like the pay, but I have no pay. I made a present of it to the Red Cross and I am living on my own means out of what I gathered while I was working hard. It does not matter whether one works with his hands or his head, provided he works. That is the whole thing. I wish that you would not lose a moment and that by May you should have 500,000 soldiers, not later, because delays would mean other difficulties. Do not think the Germans are not working the same way. There are thousands of Turkish recruits that they are training in Asia, who are not in the field through lack of organization, etc., and because the Turks have never been well equipped soldiers. In the Greek war in 1897 I have seen Turkish soldiers bare-footed marching over the rocks. The Turks are soldiers of endurance and they are the best soldiers the Germans have to help them. Barbarians like themselves.

My heart is broken by the cruelties that have been perpetrated by the enemy. The worst enemy of Serbia in this war is Bulgaria. Ninety per cent. of the cruelties have been perpetrated by the Bulgarians and Magyars. They hate us. They have cracked the heads of our wounded and filled them with boiled beans. They have opened the stomachs of our wounded with bayonets and filled them with hay that they used to give to the horses. They have done worse things, as I have said before, both the Huns and the Bulgarians. When this war is over and if the Lord helps us to have peace, and a peace to suit ourselves, that is, the Allies,—I hope the Bulgarians nor their barbarious allies will be as nations, but will be under us.

Just transport yourselves a little to those fields and those mountains covered with our Christian blood. The loss of Mt. Lovtchen is like the loss of a diamond as big as Lovtchen itself. When Lovtchen has fallen, all has fallen, and with it the work of many centuries of our dynasty, of our nation,—all has crumbled down. Now we are the guests of our good allies and European Christians. We are invaded ! It is very unfortunate indeed. Help us to get back again to our lovely homes. The Montenegrins are faithful, and they are grateful. You can see them always employed as guardians of banks and for rich people in the Orient ready to die for their masters. They are not used to sweep streets. It is below the dignity of a Montenegrin to do that kind of work. They work in the mines of America, and in time of peace there were in the United States about 35,000 doing the difficult work of miners, rather than to bow to what they call work below their dignity. Such is our race and we cannot help it. Whilst in Montreal I have heard a lovely American speaker, Mr. Beck of New York, who said : "After this war France, England and the United States, will stand together for civilization like the Moench Elger and the Jungfrau in Switzerland, three united peaks on the same rock." I wish to say that I know a mountain in Montenegro "The Dormitur" which is our highest mountain where the snow sleeps eternally and this mountain has more than three peaks : May I add to Mr. Beck's trio, Russia, who have given so many sons in the wars for Christianity and in this last war. Italy too is fighting for our cause, and any other country that wishes to join in the lovely symphony for the sake of peace and humanity will be welcomed. An orchestra is so much nicer than a trio.

We people owe to Gladstone and the English people a great deal. Let us owe you more. Gladstone, who is printed in our hearts in a speech in 1895 said : "In my deliberate opinion the traditions of Montenegro exceed in glory those of Marathon and Thermopylae and are the real traditions of the world."

We owe plenty to Russia, who has always kept us *and has never abandoned us.* We owe to France, who has also helped us. We owe to France the light and education that many of us have received and also the help we have received in this last war. We owe to Italy the motherly kindness shown to our refugees and the sympathy to our cause, and to America sympathy and help to our poor and wounded.

Now, gentlemen, I thank you for the honour of listening to my little speech. As you see, I am not an orator and the English language I have only studied lately. You are a great nation, and if you have an opportunity to help us some time in the near future to restore us to our homes, we will be very grateful to you. We have a number of refugees in Europe who are calling for bread. Bread has been the cry of our people in that lovely land now covered with snow, but snow that is no more white but red with blood. And if it was not for our Mother Russia, who for centuries has helped and protected us, the people of Montenegro would have undergone many times famine. Yes Russia has also saved Bulgaria from the Turkish barbarism as well as all the other Christian nations of the Balkans, an enormous sacrifice. But there are ungrateful peoples who have forgotten the past. At twilight you can see the peaks of Montenegro appearing like those of Switzerland, red and gold, but now they are red with the blood of my brethren who have died for the holy freedom and the allies' cause, who have died to free the Serbians of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Slavs under the Austro-Hungarian yoke, and who have died for the holy cause of Christianity and humanity.

The eagles of Lovtchen have left the rocks ; they fly from place to place in search of a shelter but they will return one day again because the barbarians cannot destroy what God has created, nor can they be masters of the world. Throughout Serbia and Montenegro there are no more smiles and songs of long past wars, so characteristic of our people, but now there is mourning and tears. I have said.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

AN ADDRESS BY JOHN H. HUMPHREYS, ESQ.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
February 3, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I do not desire by any words of mine to divert any energy from the main task of to-day, for we all recognize that the prosecution of the war must command almost exclusively the attention of Governments and even citizens of British nations. But I am reminded that a British Cabinet Minister, Mr. Runciman, speaking in the House of Commons just before Christmas, said there was scarcely a question affecting the public welfare which is not being examined by the British Government in the light of what is likely to happen after the war, so as to be prepared for all possible contingencies, and that a good deal of quiet thinking is being given to many of these questions which must come up for consideration when peace is declared. This war has perhaps given rise to a spirit of devotion to the welfare of the nation such as we have never known, and if that spirit is rightly informed by knowledge and by a clear vision of the means by which real advances can be made it may lift the British nation to a higher plane of development.

But in all these questions there figures Parliament. We cannot consider constitutional changes without considering at the same time the character and constitution of Parliament. That is the institution through which British nations give expression to the principle of self-government, and we cannot conceive of any body which can replace Parliament. The part which it must continue to play in shaping the destinies of our Empire cannot be measured. In these critical days there rests upon our Parliament, and the Governments which depend upon them, the supreme task of showing that democracies can be more efficient, more self-sacrificing and more inspiring in the conduct of great affairs than the most powerful autocracies ; and, when victory has been won, very serious problems which will demand almost immediate solution will tax to the utmost the ability of our Parliament to solve them.

And yet there is a good deal of criticism of the working of Parliamentary institutions, and we have to admit that a good deal of this criticism is justified. We are not satisfied that we are obtaining through the present working of our Parliamentary system the best that can be obtained for our country ; and this decision is not only taking the form of criticism, but is taking the form of changes which imply a distrust of the representative principle itself. Coming through the western provinces of Canada, I noticed that such reforms as the initiative and referendum were being pressed through with considerable rapidity. It is not any part of my duty to speak against direct legislation when it is used sparingly, but I venture to suggest that all those methods which are coming to us from across the border do imply a distrust of the representative principle, and we shall be well-advised in considering whether we cannot strengthen Parliament by making it more fully representative and more completely responsive to the wishes of the citizens in whose name Parliament acts and speaks.

Let us consider for a moment our present electoral machinery in the light of that conception of Parliament which has been handed down to us by our great Parliamentarians. I think it was Burke who said that the virtue, the spirit, the essence of the House of Commons consisted in its being the complete expression of the national will; and to-day Mr. Asquith, speaking not many years ago, said it was infinitely to the advantage of the House of Commons that there should not be any substantial body of the King's subjects which should not find their representative and speech. All our Parliamentarians conceive of Parliament as being a complete representation of the nation at large.

Let us compare the composition of Parliaments in the light of these statements. Take first the Parliament of the United Kingdom. That Parliament, before war was declared, was engaged in the consideration of a Bill which was to carry through the disestablishment of the Church of Wales. Now, were all the people of Wales represented in our House of Commons? By no means. In one recent Parliament the whole 30 seats allotted to Wales were won by members of one party. The minority, representing nearly 38 per cent., had no representation. It was a mere accident that the Nationalists, (or Conservatives) of Scotland, numbering 277,000, obtained any representation at all at the last election. They did win a few seats, but in every case the seat was won by a very small number of votes ; and a further slight displacement of public opinion would have deprived more than a quarter of a million of Scotch citizens of any hearing in the House of Commons. The political representation of Ireland is also, in some respects, misleading. For 30 years past minorities in the south of Ireland and in the north-east of Ireland have had no spokesmen in the Imperial House of Commons. Similarly, I found when recently in Australia, that large sections of the citizens were disfranchised. The city of Adelaide is represented in its local Parliament by 15 members. Every member belonged to the Labor party. The rest of the citizens, numbering about 40 per cent., had no one to speak for them ; and I suggest that that was an exaggerated presentation of the political conditions of Adelaide, when 40 per cent. of the people, not within the ranks of organized labour, found themselves unable to send any one of themselves to Parliament.

Coming through Canada I noticed when I was in British Columbia that there was a Parliament which was the possession, almost the exclusive possession, of one party. Thirty-seven per cent. of the electors had voted for Liberal candidates, but had failed to return any. Toronto and its suburbs is represented, I believe, by some ten members in the Ontario Legislature. Is that a complete representation of the citizens of Toronto ? I understand that some 29,000 votes were cast for candidates of the minority, but that those votes counted for nothing in determining the composition of the Ontario Legislature.

What is the result of this incomplete representation of the people ? I think Parliament ceases to be national in character. It has been even asserted by a good many whom I have met in Canada that Parliament discriminates between those constituencies which return supporters of the Government and those constituencies which return members of the Opposition. It would, therefore, seem that not only is parliament not national in character, but that the Government in its ordinary work—I am not going to say in the crisis through which we are passing—ceases to be truly national in character.

When disfranchisement becomes permanent in character it is regarded and felt as a very keen injustice on the part of those who suffer from it. I recollect very well the words of Professor Culverwell, a senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who formed part of a deputation that was received by Mr. Asquith whilst the Home Rule bill was being discussed. This deputation, which was headed by that great Irishman, Sir Horace Plunkett, waited upon Mr. Asquith to ask that if a Parliament was established it should be representative of all Irishmen, and Prof. Culverwell stated his case thus :—"I have taken an intelligent interest in the affairs of my country ; I have possessed a vote for 30 years ; but that vote has been valueless to me ; I have not even had an opportunity of exercising it, and because those who think with me are in the minority, and we know that we are in the minority, there has been no organized political life in our district in which I can take part." And he demanded, not as a privilege but as right, that if a Parliament was established the method of voting should be such that he, and all other Irishmen, should be able to take a direct interest in their national affairs.

When I was in Adelaide I could not help noticing that 40 per cent. of the citizens, many of them engaged in big enterprises, and who had serious responsibilities, felt that their political disfranchisement was a grave injustice. Probably they had not realized in times past that others were suffering from an injustice, but here were 40 per cent. of the citizens who had this prospect, that they might never in the future, unless there was a change in the electoral system, have any voice in the national affairs. And I will say this, that disfranchisement tended to increase that bitterness which arose from the economic struggle between labour and the employing classes.

I could continue for a very long time analyzing many defects of the present system, but I would at this time draw attention to one aspect of our electoral system. As members of the Empire Club you are doubtless interested in the question of Imperial unity—and although we are thinking as to the way in which Imperial unity can be accomplished, we cannot yet say that we have arrived at any definite conclusion on that point. But I venture to suggest that Imperial unity would be more easy of achievement, and will be a greater success if we can accomplish a national unity within every one of the divisions of which the British Empire consists. Now, Ireland still stands in the way of the complete unity of the United Kingdom. That problem must be solved if we are to achieve unity within the United Kingdom ; and the exaggeration of the political differences in Ireland, which directly arise from our political system, has made the solution of that problem more difficult. For the last 30 years there has come from the north-east of Ireland a solid block of representatives ; from the south of Ireland there have come, opposed to them, another solid block of representatives ; and there has been erected within the British House of Commons, as it were, a political brick wall between these two, and statesmen and writers have thought in terms of that representation. A good many far-sighted Irishmen wanted, when the question was being discussed in the House of Commons 30 years ago, to apply the proportional system to Ireland. Had they been successful those minorities in the south would have had an opportunity of collecting around them perhaps the more moderate Nationalists. There would have been representation of the minority in the north-east of Ireland ; and although I do not say that all difficulties would have passed away, I do say that we should have had a different conception of Ireland ; that those differences would not have presented themselves to us in an exaggerated form ; and we might have been nearer the amicable solution of that difficulty than we are to-day.

Take another case, that of South Africa—another one of our Dominions. There some of our greatest statesmen—yes, the greatest statesmen of the British Empire—have been working for complete unity throughout South Africa—Gen. Botha and Gen. Smuts, both of them supporters of proportional representation. But what has been one of the obstacles in the way ? Orange River Free State is represented almost exclusively by followers of Gen. Hertzog. There comes from one state a solid block of representatives opposed to racial union. Now, that is an exaggeration of the political conditions of the Orange River Free State. There are more than 30 per cent. of the electors who are British in origin or who are in sympathy with that policy, but who have not a voice in Parliament under the present system. If a system of representation had been introduced in which all found a voice we should have had a truer conception presented to us of the conditions prevailing in the Orange Free State, and one of the difficulties in the way of complete unification would have been diminished.

Take the case of Canada. Racial and religious difficulties exist here. I do not want to stress the point too much, but we can never say what trouble may arise from those differences. I venture to suggest, however, that any statesman working for the complete unification of the Dominion would deprecate any exaggeration of those differences ; yet your method of election may result in undue exaggeration. Certainly the political differences between the two Provinces do find expression in exaggerated form. Take the last general election in 1911, in which some 73 Conservatives and 11 Liberals were returned for this Province. That was an exaggeration of the political conditions of this Province. Some 207,000 votes were cast for Liberals, an average of about 16,000 for every member returned. Some 269,000 votes were cast for Conservatives, an average of about 4,000 only for every Conservative member returned. In a Liberal year, a year of Liberal victory, 1908, the Conservatives in Quebec polled 115,000 votes, or about 40 per cent. of the whole ; but they only returned some 11 representatives instead of the 26 to which they were entitled.

I merely state this fact, that if these two Provinces were represented fairly in election after election, all Canadian politicians would have a truer view of the magnitude of those differences which exist between the two provinces ; and I venture to say that a provision of this true system of representation would enable, even within Nationalist movements, an expression of opinion on the part of those who appreciated larger issues and would co-operate in any larger movement towards Imperial federation.

Take one other aspect of the dangers which result from exaggeration. The social and labour questions are going to press for treatment almost immediately after this war is concluded. We cannot quite see what is going to be demanded in that sphere. Again exaggeration will impede the amicable solution. The disfranchisement of one side will give rise to a feeling of injustice which will prevent calm consideration of those questions. In every direction exaggeration hinders peaceful development within the British Empire.

I will now give a brief outline of what the proportional system of representation is. It is a new method of election for ensuring, within the limits of practicability, the fair representation of all classes of citizens. Three changes in our present methods of elections are required. The first is the grouping of single constituencies into larger electorate areas returning five, six or seven members, say, according to their population. Why is it necessary to group those constituencies ? Because whilst we elect but one member at a time, only the majority can find representation ; and if you will trace through the working of your electoral system you will be able to point to this fact—that the need of winning the majority of votes is the point to which can be traced nearly all the evils—gerrymandering, bribing, etc. But the point on which I wish to lay stress is this, that whilst you have the single-member constituency system you cannot do justice to the claims of the minority, which minority may represent a very large number of citizens; but as soon as the constituencies are grouped so as to return five or more members, then it is possible to apportion the representation between the majority and the minority. In those large districts we propose that each elector shall have one transferable vote. The single transferable vote requires :—

(1) That constituencies shall be large enough to return several members each.

(2) That each elector in such constituencies shall have only one vote.

(3) That this vote shall, in certain contingencies, be transferable, the transfer being controlled by the elector.

What will be the effect of that change ?

Let us assume that the City of Toronto is one Parliamentary constituency returning, say, 10 members to the Ontario Legislature ; and let us assume that as many as 100,000 electors go to the poll and record their votes. It follows that any candidate obtaining as many as 10,000 votes must, as an absolute certainty, be one of the 10 chosen, because only 10 groups of 10,000 each can be formed out of the total of 100,000. Any group of citizens amounting to one-tenth of the whole cannot only vote but can secure what is their right—one-tenth of the representation.

You may ask : Why, then, do you make this vote transferable ? It is to meet several of the contingencies that may arise in the course of the election. There may be the leader of a party standing in the constituency, and he may obtain some 20,000 votes, though 10,000 would be sufficient for his election; and thus his popularity, instead of being an asset to his party, might cost that party a seat. It is necessary to provide for that contingency, without destroying the secrecy of the ballot ; and the transferable vote enables us to do that. The elector goes into the polling-booth, and in full confidence records one vote for his favourite by placing the figure "1" against his name; but he can also place the figure 2 and the figure 3 against his second and his third choice, and in this way express his preferences just as though he gave such instruction to the returning officer, in the sense that the vote is given to the candidate marked "1", but in case that candidate obtains more votes than are requisite for his election the returning officer transfers such excess votes to the second choice of those who voted for the candidate who obtained such excess. Thus the votes given in excess are not wasted.

There is also another contingency that has to be provided for. As you know, splitting the party vote is to-day one of the unpardonable sins. We may be completely dissatisfied with the way in which the nomination has been secured at the convention, but every member of the party refrains from taking further action lest by taking action he split the party vote. Now, the transferable vote enables us to meet this question of splitting the party vote. Not only may the convention candidates stand, but if there is some element within the party who feel that another gentleman would be a more worthy representative, both candidates can be nominated without any injury to the party's prospects. Take the case in which two candidates have been nominated, and between them they poll just about the number of votes entitling the party to one seat. In ordinary circumstances the party would lose the seat, but the transferable vote preserves the seat to the party in this way :—Though the candidate at the bottom of the poll is declared defeated, yet the votes given to him are not wasted, but are transferred to the candidate indicated by those electors as their first choice ; thus the party, instead of losing representation, secures representation through the candidate whom it most prefers.

I would like that members of this Club should take away with them not only these few words that I have uttered describing the system, but that they should understand as well as possible the processes involved in this new method of election. For that purpose I will go through the concrete example which is given in the little leaflet that has been placed in your hands.

On the front of that ballot paper you will find nine names, being those of candidates nominated in this imaginary election. It is proposed to elect five members of Parliament. The Liberals have nominated Messrs. Asquith, George and Harcourt ; the Conservatives have nominated Banbury, Cecil, Chamberlain, Law ; and the Labour Party has nominated Macdonald and Snowden. The elector is instructed to vote by placing the figure "1" opposite the name of the candidate he likes best, the figure "2" against the name of his second choice, and the figure "3" against his third choice. I think when this system is introduced you will find an increased interest in elections. At any rate, I may relate an incident which happened in Johannesburg when this system was first tried. They were electing ten councillors from the city at large, and there were 22 candidates. I was travelling in the train between Johannesburg and Pretoria, and beside me was a gentleman whom I did not know and who did not know me. At lunch we got in conversation, and I asked him if he had voted, and he said yes. I asked him how he liked the new system. He said, "Well, it is the first time that I have been called upon to exercise my intelligence at election time." I think he was probably putting it too strongly, but you can understand the point of view ; that here a man was asked to send as a representative of himself the candidate he liked best, and he was making that choice in the knowledge that his vote was going to influence the composition of Parliament. This system, used in election after election, will certainly remove from Parliament those unworthy to fill a place there.

The result of this purely imaginary election, which is used for the purpose of illustration, is summarized on the second page of the pamphlet. The first duty of the returning officer is to sort the ballot papers according to the names marked "1." In this imaginary case Mr. Asquith is credited with 14 votes because he was marked number 1 on 14 papers. Banbury obtained 5 ; and the other candidates obtained the votes placed against their name, the total being 115 papers, 115 people having voted. The next duty of the returning officer, which is also simple, is that of finding what we call the "quota."

The "quota" is that proportion of the votes which necessarily secures the election of a candidate. If there is only one candidate to be elected, it is quite clear that the quota is one more than half of the votes, for no other candidate can obtain that number. For instance, the candidate who obtains 51 out of 100 votes in a single-member constituency is sure of election. Similarly, in a two-member constituency any candidate who obtains more than one-third of the votes must be elected ; in a four-member constituency, one more than a fifth, and so on. In general terms, the quota is found by dividing the total number of votes polled by one more than the number of seats and by adding one to the result so obtained.

In this case there are five seats to be filled ; there are 115 votes ; and in accordance with the rule we divide by 6—which is one more than the number of seats—and that simple division yields 19, and the quota is one more than that—20. It is a question of arithmetic ; you can work it out yourself. There were six nineteens in 115, but there are only five twenties ; only 5 candidates can obtain as many as 20 votes.

The returning officer goes back to the first column and declares elected Mr. Bonar Law, because he has obtained more than the quota ; he would declare elected every candidate who has obtained the quota of votes. Mr. Bonar Law has 30 votes to spare, and those votes are transferred to whom ? To the candidates indicated as their next choice by those electors who have voted for Mr. Bonar Law. The whole of those papers are re-examined and sorted according to the names marked "2." Mr. Bonar Law could spare 30 out of 50, that is three out of every five, or three-fifths ; so he can spare to every candidate who was entitled to participate in this distribution, three-fifths of those papers on which his name was marked number "2." I will not go into further details, which are explained on the leaflet itself ; but as a result of that careful consideration of the wishes of the electors, 6 votes were transferred to Banbury, 9 to Cecil and 15 to Chamberlain, because they represented the shares of the surplus to which those candidates were entitled. No others were entitled to participate, because no others were found to have the figure "2" against their name when Mr. Bonar Law's papers are re-examined. You will observe that Mr. Chamberlain's total is brought up to 20—the quota—and he is declared elected. If his total had exceeded the quota, the excess votes would have been carried forward in the same exact manner. In this case he reached the quota, and is declared elected.

The returning officer continues his work of building up quotas by declaring defeated the candidate who is at the bottom of the poll, in this case Mr. Harcourt, who had 4 votes. When the papers were re-examined it was found that 3 of those papers contained the next suggestions for Mr. Asquith, and accordingly those 3 votes were transferred to Mr. Asquith, the other one contained a preference for Lloyd George, and it was transferred to George. In counting the votes Mr. Snowden was declared defeated because at the next stage he was at the bottom of the poll, and the men who voted for Mr. Snowden said, "Well, if we cannot elect Mr. Snowden we will vote for Mr. Macdonald." He being the next choice of the voters, their votes were transferred accordingly, and Mr. Macdonald was elected because now his total reached the quota. In this imaginary election Mr. Lloyd George was at the bottom of the poll and was declared defeated, but his papers were examined and the next choice was for Mr. Asquith, accordingly his votes were transferred to Mr. Asquith, whose total is now 25, and he was forthwith declared elected. There is only one seat now to be filled, and there is a contest between Banbury and Cecil as to which of those two shall fill the third seat that falls to the Conservative party. Now, you can see that even if Mr. Law's excess votes, 5, fell to Banbury, his total, which is now 11, would only be 16, and that total would be below that of Lord Cecil ; therefore, Banbury was declared defeated and Lord Cecil elected to fill the last place.

The result of this little concrete example shows conclusively that, even where one party has a very large majority, the minorities secure their share of representation. All parties secure representation through those candidates most preferred.

Now, this principle is making continuous headway in all democratic countries. The movement, which is under the presidency of Earl Grey within the United Kingdom, is attracting the support of distinguished representatives of all parties. It has the support of leading Irishmen, and that is why it finds a place in the Home Rule Bill. It has the support of those distinguished South African statesmen who are working for racial union, and it was for that reason they proposed that it should be embodied in the South African constitution ; and the South African Senate has been elected on this principle from the beginning. Just before the war broke out, when the resolution was submitted to the South African House of Commons proposing that this system should be applied to the elections also of the House of Parliament, the resolution was carried by a large majority, and among those supporting it were General Smuts and all the members of the Union Ministry who were present.

This is an international movement. I was privileged to be present as one of a deputation which was received by Mr. Poincare, now President of the three or four representatives from Belgium representing all different parties. These representatives could speak from experience, for proportional representation had been in force in Belgium, in a different form, for some 13 years ; and I am very glad to be able to say that the representatives of all parties stated that it is not only working satisfactorily in the Parliamentary sphere, but it was being pressed for adoption in the election of their local county council. But the chief remark of value which they made was this—that there were many problems which the Belgian Parliament had been able to solve in a national spirit since the Proportional system had been introduced, and it was partly due to the fact that the convention which has entered into our Parliamentary•practice—that it is always the duty of the Opposition to oppose—had tended to disappear from the Belgian Parliament, and on questions affecting the national development there was a spirit which enabled these questions to be dealt with from a non-party point of view.

I venture to suggest that when victory has been achieved it will be in some sense a victory for those nations which have developed Parliamentary institutions—and one of the ways by which we may fittingly celebrate victory is to carry forward the development of Parliament,—and to ensure that the Parliament of the Provinces, of the Dominion of Canada and of the United Kingdom—aye, and perhaps of that greater Parliament—shall be fully representative of the citizens in whose name they act and speak.

Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C., moved a hearty vote of thanks, which was seconded by Dr. Goggin.

"THE DYNASTS"

BY FRANK LASCELLES, ESQ.

A Reading before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
February 10, 1916

Mr. Alan Sullivan introduced the reader and said: MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am at present living in an entirely reflected light ; It is quite a delightful experience, and if the Dynasts, as far as I am personally concerned, accomplishes nothing more than to have established such a charming relationship with the person of Mr. Frank Lascelles I should be very grateful and well satisfied, and think that six weeks' work has been well spent.

The Dynasts, which will be put on for the week of February 14th at the Royal Alexandra Theatre, had its inception in a very human and homelike way. Along the northern coast of the British Channel, especially in Dorset, there are still surviving many legends and much folk lore concerning the Napoleonic wars. In counties and villages, stories are still told which have been handed down from father to father since 1815. Mr. Thomas Hardy, the most famous Dorset man, heard these and, realizing their significance and interest, began to weave them into a historical drama. This historical drama gradually enlarged until in its scope it covered some fifteen years of the Napoleonic wars and constituted Mr. Hardy's great literary epic and dramatic offering to his country.

The works of Mr. Thomas Hardy need no comment at this particular time, but it is a peculiar and significant thing that all through the Dynasts runs the note of destiny, that over-brooding, overruling providence that sways the affairs of man. This note characterizes practically all his novels.

In the Dynasts you see groups of men creating circumstances and affairs ; you see these circumstances and affairs grow and spread until they embrace not only countries but continents, and, by and by, receive such a terrific impetus and sweep that the men who created them are swept up and carried off by the very creations of their own imagination. It is a powerful Hardy note and is very observable in the Dynasts.

The Dynasts, itself, is a very large book, but what it is proposed to present next week constitutes about twenty-three scenes. These are all spoken and acted. These scenes reflect the humour, the anxiety, the hopes, the fears, the triumphs, the tribulations of our own people just one hundred years ago.

The Dynasts was put on by Mr. Granville Barker in London and ran between four and five months at the Kingsway Theatre. It was immediately recognized as having a very great national significance because it expressed to all those who saw it that which many people must think to-day, but for which there is no individual expression.

Lady Drummond whose work we all know and admire suggested to Mr. Lascelles that it would be a very good thing if the Dynasts were put on in Canada. Mr. Lascelles came here with very unnecessary letters of introduction, and since he came a great deal has been done.

There are some two hundred people taking part in the Dynasts, and something over one hundred speaking parts. There are twenty-three scenes. These scenes are linked together by the reader, who sits in front of the stage, in Georgian dress and by short read paragraphs, links the various scenes together. On each side of the stage you will find women who contribute the classic characters. These are the strophe and antistrophe or perhaps, more properly speaking, the spirit of the Years, and, together with the Reader they give their particular note which expresses the epic, the tragic character of various parts of the performance.

Our experiences in Toronto have been somewhat varied, although we find as a whole that practically everybody approves of the plan, and is willing and ready to help. For instance, this week we are having a number of rehearsals, and the School Board of Toronto has arranged that the schools may close early in various parts of the city to enable the pupils to attend. One school master called me up yesterday ; He had seen a rehearsal that afternoon and said, "Now, I don't want to knock your show, but have you heard any criticisms ?" "Not yet ; we wait for them." "Well," he went on, "I would like to make two." I said, "Thank you." He went on "The first is, there was such a crowd of children there that they had their hats knocked off in coming out." "Are you aware," I asked, "that the same children knocked the door off the Alexandra Theatre ?" Which they did.

Another point was that the children could not hear. I took the liberty of asking why. He said, "On account of the noise." "Is it on account of the noise they were making themselves ?" "Yes," and we did not get very much further.

I notice that one of the papers described the production of the Dynasts as a mammoth scene investiture. Gentlemen, it is nothing of the sort. On the stage you will find a very severe and dignified background, formed of tall columns with curtains between suggesting space and height and distance. The platform is bare elsewhere of all theatrical properties ; there are no gimcracks ; there are no thousand dollar rugs ; nothing of any kind which will in any way interfere with or intercept the magnificent simplicity and grandeur and beauty of Mr. Thomas Hardy's words.

So when you see the Dynasts, as I trust many of you will, I hope that you will consider the stage setting merely as the most suitable background for the expression of the poet's superb fancy and prophesy.

You may think that perhaps the audience has to do a good deal for itself in a case of this kind. You will be quite right. We also think the audience will have a great deal to do. But, gentlemen, we have a great deal to do in other ways ; I think you will agree with that.

The object of the Dynasts primarily is to help the Red Cross Funds. And in that connection I would like to bear testimony to the admirable attitude of the authorities of the Alexandra Theatre and also to the attitude of the Historical Productions Company of London, England, who by joint arrangement, bear the expense and contribute twenty-five per cent. of tke gross proceeds to the Red Cross. I think Mr. President and gentlemen, you will agree with me that is a very excellent arrangement. We have not had to go about in Toronto asking various gentlemen for guarantees. We are free from financial responsibility and there is no question whatever as to the exact proportion which the Red Cross will get. As business men you will understand the somewhat nebulous meaning of the words "net profits." It does not arise in connection with the Dynasts.

Now, gentlemen, behind all this there is something else. The big reason for the Dynasts is, that there is a very high note to be struck. The minds of thinking men must at the present day be full of questions for which there is no individual answer. We must be full of anxieties. We have our hopes, and our fears and also we have our determination. And if we can present to you the picture of our old race fighting a hundred years ago for exactly the same thing that we are fighting for to-day, for the most beautiful, precious thing in the world,—spiritual and intellectual freedom—and if we can picture to you that race winning through, triumphing on account of those qualities which we make bold to believe we still preserve in our breasts, surely we have a note of encouragement, one which must help the trying hour and one which, I think, must nerve people to additional energy in themselves.

That, gentlemen, is the message of the Dynasts and that is what we expect, as they put it in theatrical parlance, to get across to you.

I think, Mr. President and gentlemen, I have spent more time than I should have but would like to add one word more. It seems a very fine and splendid thing that Mr. Lascelles, with his magnificent experience, with his tremendous talent, with all behind him that is behind him, should put aside his own affairs and come to Toronto as a volunteer to lend us his genius and help present the Dynasts as the Dynasts should be presented. This volunteer spirit is what holds together some two hundred odd people who will endeavour to do their very best next week to be worthy of their subject.

MR. FRANK LASCELLES

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I think Mr. Alan Sullivan has so excellently put the meaning of the Dynasts before you and the inspiration which we had always in our minds in producing it, that there is very little left for me to say under that heading.

I would like, however, to impress upon you that our desire in this production is to make people realize how very much what we are going through to-day is what our forefathers went through before us.

Thomas Hardy's "Dynasts" is a very long work and we are only able to produce a very few scenes from it. But I think if the scenes that we produce encourage people to read the Dynasts for themselves, it will not have been given in vain.

The performers, as you know, are all amateurs and all work in connection with it, headed by Mr. Sullivan, who has given many weeks of his valuable time to it, all services are entirely voluntary, and we hope very much that the words of Mr. Hardy may get across the footlights, so to speak, although as a matter of fact there are no footlights. Well, get across to the audience.

I think I will just read you one or two very short scenes which will, perhaps, give you some idea of the beauty of some of Hardy's works. I will just read the prologue.

Extracts were read with great elocutionary power.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Lascelles and Mr. Alan Sullivan.

THE CHARTER OF LIBERTY

AN ADDRESS BY RT. REV. BISHOP FALLON

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
February 24, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I overheard a remark in the ante-chamber that has rather disconcerted my deliberate courage in appearing here before this gathering to-day. Some one said to His Grace, the Archbishop of Toronto, that it was a good thing to have Bishop Fallon here ; whereupon His Grace, with that prudence which is characteristic of the land from which he sprang, said: "Well, it is, provided he does not get out of bounds." It is a long time, gentlemen, since I have had the reputation of breaking bounds, and I am afraid it will go on till the end of the chapter. Making that same remark to the estimable gentlemen on my right, he said : "Well, it is one of the greatest things we possess who live under British institutions that we have freedom of thought and liberty of expression."

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that it is a very great pleasure for me to have been invited to the privilege of speaking to you at one of your regular gatherings, and I am very grateful indeed that you considered the matter of sufficient moment to bring you here to listen to what I may have to say.

Seven hundred years ago, on the 15th day of June, 1215, a close came to a contest that meant not much but everything for those who were concerned in it. It had been led up to by a long series of causes. Nothing happens either suddenly or accidentally in human affairs. There is nothing so logical, nothing so absolute as the march of ideas. Commerce is not logical ; it seeks the line of least resistance, and it rests with most pleasure in green fields and fresh pastures. Politics is not logical. It also seeks the easy paths and avoids the obstacles. Ideas alone are logical. The human mind, turned to right or wrong, following principles correct or false; human ideas on a basis of truth or on a basis of falsehood, work their way and can be counteracted only by the contrary against falsehood or by the triumphant falsehood against the temporarily conquered truth.

Now, it was a series of causes that were at bottom the result of the progress of ideas, the necessities of human civilization, that brought about the contest that ended in a certain sense on the 15th of June, 1215, at Runnymede, where King John signed the Charter that we call the foundation, and rightfully call, the foundation of British liberties. When the Roman Empire fell and the incursion of the barbarians threatened the very existence of the fair fields of Europe, it became necessary for men to band together and fight the battle of order against anarchy. And so they put willingly their designs, their projects, their purposes, their liberties and their lives in the keeping of one, whether he was the head of the clan, the head of the tribe, the chief of the province or the king of the small monarchy. But when you put your concerns and your liberties and your rights and, as a consequence, your lives in the hands of any one man, you need to watch him closely—I don't care whether he be statesman or churchman, you need to keep your eye upon him. For it is a common tendency of human nature to monopolize such things as these, and to use them for personal gain and personal advancement as against the rights of those from whom they have been received. It was precisely that condition that prevailed when the battle was fought for order, and then men—oh, gentlemen, like the history of every similar case—men sat down and asked themselves: In the winning of the battle for order have we not lost something quite as precious? And they had, gentlemen, to start again in that constant cycle of human struggle for the things that make life worth living; they had to start again, this time to win the battle of liberty against the very men who had been their chiefs and their ideals in the struggle for order. For the kings have not always such power ; no king has any powers save what the people give him. There is no longer any doubt about the principle that you cannot govern save with the consent of the governed ; that there is not any possibility of the whim of the ruler taking the place of the liberty of the subject and his freedom to make his will and desire known. While in the contest for liberty, of course, it was those who held the possession of the rights of the people that were the main obstacles in the way. And the long contest went on, not for ten or fifty years, but for more than one hundred, until the final climax was reached when King John refused to accept the nomination of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. Stephen Langton was a compromise. The monks of Canterbury had presented to the Holy See two names, John Gurd and Reginald—that is as much as I can remember of their names, and about as much as is necessary to remember, because they failed, they did not get there. Really in a contest of that kind, as I know myself, and as His Grace knows, the only person who is worth while remembering is the one that succeeds. So at any rate, when these two candidates were presented by the monks of Canterbury, following their undoubted right, to the Holy See for appointment, both of them were rejected, and Stephen Langton—one of the noblest men that graces the pages of English History, then Professor in France, noted for his patriotism and learning—was chosen by the Holy See and named to the vacancy in the Archdiocese of Canterbury. King John, dishonest, hypocritical, tyrannical, desirous of finding an excuse for a quarrel, refused to accept the nomination of Stephen. The quarrel went on for some years and finally England was placed under an interdict, John was excommunicated, and under the common law of the day, as every student of history knows, when the voice of Rome did meet the approval of the hearts and conscience of the majority of the people, John himself was excommunicated. A dangerous word to use in Toronto ! Wonder if I am breaking bounds ? Well, I may use more dangerous words than that before I am through. And if I break bounds too deliberately or too outrageously, there is a quicker way of getting me on the street than taking me down by the elevator. John was excommunicated ! And that brought about some sense of his position. And after consideration he decided to accept the nomination of Innocent the Third, and to accept Stephen Langton as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The moment that Langton put his foot on the soil of England—and as a Catholic Bishop I am proud to be able to state this historic fact—the moment he put his foot on the soil of England he ranged himself with the barons and the people in the struggle for human liberty. He said to the King : "It is nothing new we are asking of you. We want to have restored to us the old English liberties of Edward the Confessor and of Henry the First and we will be satisfied with nothing less." The contest went on with varying success. John, full of rules, deceitful, untrustworthy, sought with some success assistance in Rome. Communications at that time were difficult, travel was not easy ; John's courier brought his story to Rome that he had been under compulsion obliged to do certain things ; that he was indeed the King and that the others were only his servants and for this and that, under such durance, any act that he had done or promised to do was of its very nature null and void. And there is a vast deal of truth in that position. No act done under such duress, if John's statements were true, would be other than null and void in the eyes, not only alone of Rome, but of right thinking men. For freedom there is necessity ever to do a thing that is right. But light came to Rome, Langton was not always at rest, even outside the kingdom. And standing on his rights—and it is another fine example of the independence of the Hierarchy—that is another dangerous word to use in Toronto ! Well, it is a splendid example of the independence of the Hierarchy that has not disappeared at all, that we claim the right to inform even Rome on our side of any question or any controversy, and we rest secure in the certain conviction that Rome will never decide until she has got both sides of the question, and then that the chances are a thousand to one that she will decide right. She decided eventually in favour of Langton. And on the 15th of June, 1215, King John signed that marvellous declaration known as the Magna Charta, the Charter of our liberties.

The contest was brought to a head after various national councils, conventions, conferences between leaders of the people and the leaders of the Church. But what I assume to be of more importance to us than the causes or the means by which the Charter was finally made a necessity of adoption by King John are the things that are contained in the Charter. The great historian, Hallam, says that everything we have obtained since is only a commentary on the Magna Charta ; that every liberty that we possess, every liberty for which we are ready to go to the uttermost limit of everything that we have, is contained in the document that Stephen Langton placed before King John and said to him : You will sign this or you will sign the death warrant of your kingship over the people of England. For the Magna Charta is a most impressive example of how our people—for I want you to understand that I am one of your people just as well as you are yourself ; that is a new doctrine to some extent. But having been born in this Province, and educated in this Province, and fed by the good things of this Province, and now living on the generosity of this Province, you cannot push me out of your midst whether you want to or not.

Well, the liberties that were won by our people on that occasion are an impressive instance of how effective was their attempt in putting a stopper on royal tyranny, and how absolutely they nailed down the principle that allegiance, the broadest, the deepest, the most sincere, the most heartfelt, is and always must be conditional upon the proper exercise of his authority by him to whom allegiance is due, and to whom it is gladly given.

The very first paragraph, first clause of the grants of Magna Charta, deals with the liberties of the Church. I am afraid of breaking bounds here again. But putting the matter as mildly as I know how—the first clause of Magna Charta is a cry for relief not against Rome and tyranny, but against royal tyranny. Listen to it : The English Church shall be free and shall have her whole rights and her liberties inviolable, and the freedom of the election of bishops which was granted and obtained confirmation of from our Holy Pope, Innocent the Third, we shall observe.

That is the opening sentence of the Magna Charta. It was put through as Stephen Langton's defiance of the attempt of John to play the Church against the State in the struggle for liberty. For one of the things that King John attempted to do in his extremity was to give to the Church, to promise to give to the Church—because the gift of things and the promise to give are essentially different matters when we deal with characters like King John—to promise to give to the Church certain liberties, in the hope of detaching Stephen and the Prelates from the cause of the barons and the people. Stephen Langton said : We will take your gift and we will put it in the very first clause of the document that shall secure the liberties of the Church and of the State, of the prelates and of the people.

The second clause reads as follows : No free man shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or in any way brought to ruin ; we will not go against any man nor send against him, save by the legal judgment of his peers and by the due process of the law of the land. The thing that we commonly enjoy as a legal trial was one of the magnificent results of the contest. We enjoy it, little knowing the great price at which it was purchased and won. It is a commonplace of our lives, but it was the extreme desire of those who fought the Magna Charta that we should have in the distribution of even-handed justice a legal trial. They went on further and demanded a fair trial. And a fair trial was promised and secured to them in the next clause of the Magna Charta : "To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right or justice." Language that is so trite, so commonplace, as to appear to-day trivial, but language that meant the heart's blood and the soul's desires of the men who fought this first great battle for human freedom under British dominions and institutions, and won that battle gloriously.

It had been the custom previously for those who sought justice to follow at a distance in the train of the king, to wait upon the royal pleasure, and to wait upon the conclusion of royal pleasures before his cause could be heard. He had to stand suppliant outside the most distant door of the royal castle wherever the king was situated and beg that his honest cause should be heard. Magna Charta put an end to that and said that justice should not wait upon the pleasure or the whim of the king, but that it should be given in various stated placed throughout the kingdom and be within the reach of rich and poor alike. "Common pleas," says this clause, "shall not follow our court"—that is, the king's—"but shall be held in certain places and shall be dispensed according to necessity."

These things, gentlemen, I realize are the most commonplace and trite expressions of our everyday lives. Yet again, I emphasize the fact they were so essential, and so much endangered, that our forefathers were ready to go to the extreme limit of losing their lives, of disturbing what was called public order and of dethroning the monarch, in order that they should lay down hard and fast and solid the sacred principles of human rights and human liberties, and of that freedom which makes life again worth living.

So much for a summary consideration of the document that was signed on the 15th of June, 1215, by King John at Runnymede. It may be interesting to know that there are only four original copies of that document now extant—one at Canterbury, one at Lincoln and two in the British Museum. And without for one instant attempting to push forward the Romish doctrine of the veneration of images or of the cult of relics, let me say that if ever you see one of the original copies of the Magna Charta you can well get down on your knees and kiss the page that consecrates and sanctifies your own personal, individual liberties, and makes life worth living.

Though the Magna Charta was signed the battle was not yet finally won. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. King John tried to evade the Charter, with little success, however, during the remainder of his life. And an honest man, the Earl of Pembroke, became regent on the death of John and of his own motion he reissued the Charter, but his rule, temporary as it was, lasted but a short time, and King Henry the Third came to the throne.

The contest between Henry the Third, on the one hand, and the prelates and the barons and the people of England on the other, raged for almost eighty-five years. It reached its climax in the year 1253. Henry was poor of purse, and not having money to carry out his personal or his public schemes, he applied for sufficient supply, and the supply was denied him. But he made fine promises, and with the readiness of all right-thinking men to take their rulers at their honest pledged word, the supply was voted. No sooner had Henry the Third money in his possession than he broke his plighted word and continued to break it, and to disregard the Charter; until he again fell on evil days, and poverty, conditional at any rate, stared him in the face. He again pleaded for money and again the money was granted to him, his royal word being taken, his pledge being accepted. He broke his word, he broke his pledge and he again violated the clauses and the conditions of the Great Charter. But you cannot expect anybody to take a man's word a third time who has broken his word twice. It is about the limit of human patience to have to deal with a man who has broken his word once. The people of England went to the very limit of national patience when they voted a second supply to Henry after he had twice broken his word, but they made up their minds that there would be no further breaking of the kingly promise.

And on the third day of May, 1253, there occurred one of the most dramatic incidents in all the history of mankind. I am afraid, again, that if I undertook to describe it, no matter how weakly, I may be breaking bounds, but I am going to try anyway. You understand that a bishop in his official capacity is privileged or obliged to wear garments that are really fearfully and wonderfully made. He has a tall split hat on his head ; he carries what looks like a dangerous crook in his hand ; he has a pectoral cross upon his breast and the fisherman's ring on his finger. On the third day of May, 1253, headed not any longer by Stephen Langton, but by his worthy successor, Bernhard of Savoy, benefice of Savoy, came the long line of the English bishops and English prelates, accompanied by the barons and the chiefs of the people, the heads of the clans and the representatives of the commonalty. Upon each bishop's head the mitre of his office and in his hand the crozier of his authority, and on his breast the cross of his promise, and on his finger the ring of his union with his diocese. And carrying in the other hand from the crozier, every bishop and every prelate had a lighted taper. There was a day when the lighted taper meant a great deal for all Christianity. The lighted taper yet means a great deal for many of us. It meant very much on this particular day, for the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in the name of the Church and of the people of England, pronounced so frightful a curse, that William Penn, the Quaker founder of Philadelphia, declared that while he had no dread whatever of the Romanish curses, yet he would not for all his life be guilty of the crime that could bring upon him the curse of the Charter breaker. Here it is, as laid down in documentary history : Benefice, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of all the people and looking steadfastly at the King, spoke these words : "By the authority of God the Father, Almighty, of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and of the glorious Mother of God, the blessed Virgin Mary, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and all the apostles, and of the blessed St. Edward, King of England, and of all the blessed martyrs of God, and of all confessors and virgins and of all the sons of God, this curse is pronounced against the breakers of the liberties of the Church and of the liberties or free customs of the realm of England." And as the end of the curse was reached the lighted taper in each hand was dashed to the ground and its smoking fumes scarcely hid any of the solemnity of the occasion as the Archbishop added : "Speaking in the name of all, as these tapers, so may the soul of every man go out who incurs this sentence." And Henry, finally conquered, cowed —gloriously cowed by the proclamation of rights and liberties that belonged to his subjects—added : "I will keep this Charter inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, as I am a king ; so help me God."

And with that dramatic end, to my vision, most sacred incident, the battle of British liberties was finally fought and finally won and the privilege and the right of living the lives of free men secured to not only the inhabitants of the Isle of England, not only Great Britain, but for every overseas dominion that she should ever have in the long line of her colonial activity—yea, and to the great nations that no longer owe her allegiance, but that do owe her what basis they possess of liberty and freedom and of the things that make again life well worth living.

This incident of the curse of the Charter breakers furnished to John Greenleaf Whittier, the American poet, an inspiration for some striking verses which, you will bear with me, if I attempt to read to you :

In Westminster's Royal halls,
Robed in their Pontificals,
England's ancient prelates stood
For the people's right and good.

Closed around the waiting crowd,
Dark and still, like winter's cloud ;
King and council, lord and knight,
Squire and yeoman, stood in sight ;

Stood to hear the priest rehearse,
In God's name, the Church's curse,
By the tapers round them lit,
Slowly, sternly uttering it.

"Right of voice in framing laws,
Right of peers to try each cause ;
Peasant homestead, mean and small,
Sacred as the monarch's hall,—

"Whoso lays his hand on these,
England's ancient liberties ;
Whoso breaks, by word or deed,
England's vow at Runnymede ;

"Be he prince or belted knight,
Whatsoe'er his rank or might,
If the highest, then the worst,
Let him live and die accursed.

"Thou, who to Thy Church hast given,
Keys alike, of hell and heaven,
Make our word and witness sure,
Let the curse we speak endure !"

Silent, while that curse was said,
Every bare and listening head
Bowed in reverent awe and then
All the people said, Amen !

The freedom that was won in its practical expression by the Magna Charta was simply the declaration in words of the greatest gift that God has ever bestowed upon human beings. It is free will, it is liberty, it is freedom that distinguishes man from all God's other creatures. It is a long time ago since an old Irish Saint declared that

"If you take from men their liberty, by the same fell blow you destroy human dignity." It is a longer time still since St. Augustine wrote his treatise on the glories and on the justice and the responsibility of free will and human liberty. It is the great theologian called the angel of the school, St. Thomas, who lays down the principle that by human liberty, by that divine gift from God to man, mankind is raised not only above all earthly creatures, but above the angels themselves, for the angels are not free. They are confirmed in their position and condition, whereas man is free to choose. And freedom has its merits; and when you tie his freedom you destroy the possibility of his merits, and you bring him from the ranks of men to make him perhaps an angel, or, it may well be, a being at the other extreme of the category of creatures.

Now, gentlemen, it is my belief that absolutely the same principle that was in contest and battled over in the thirteenth century between the prelates and the barons and the people on the one hand and a royal personage on the other, is the same principle for which ours are battling on the plains of Europe wherever the long front is stretched out. That is my inmost conviction. Things as sacred, things as essential to human happiness, are at stake to-day as they were at stake then, only the contest is immeasurably wider and the consequence immeasurably more dangerous and menacing. For when the barons won the Magna Charta from King John the influence of that document was in some sense, at any rate, restricted to the little island where the contest began and ended, to the dominions that that little island should acquire in the wide world, or to the nations that drew their civilization from her or them. But to-day the contest is one that affects not one nation alone nor one series of nations, but the whole wide world, civilized and uncivilized, and every one of the children of God in this, His world.

I am glad you gave me some applause there, because I am going to say something that I do not think will get so much applause. I am afraid that I am going to break bounds. Because I am talking in Toronto, and I have always had a dread of Toronto, however it is. Perhaps it is utterly unjustifiable. I got it in the years long gone by when I led a poor, helpless, little coterie of helpless students out to Rosedale and heard the yells and cries of that hostile crowd and, the invitation they extended to us to go on back home as fast as we could or something would happen to them. That is the only, or almost the only, memory; and in some ways or other it has persevered until I am not quite sure of my courage when I approach this particular aspect, but I am going to talk what I believe to be history.

We are in a contest with what is called German kultur. I appeal to you to say in the face of history if the contest against German kultur did not begin in 1870-71, and if the first victims of German kultur were not the Catholic bishops and the Catholic priests and the Catholic people of Germany. If in 1871 the Minister of Education, Mr. Folk, under the absolute domination of the worst of German tyros, the axe-head of all German tyranny, Bismarck, if he did not issue educational laws in the name of kultur, and that the ensuing contest was called then and is still known in history as the kultur? Who were the victims of that first struggle for kultur ? I know it has been a sort of favourite newspaper or magazine subject, and I know that Bismarck has been condemned for having gone to a certain place, but I tell you it would have been a good thing if Bismarck had been kept at that place by the power that he is supposed to have gone there to pay tribute to. It would have been better for the civilized world to-day. Come down a little further. You know that I would not for the world speak a word that any man could take offence at, but I have got to speak for what I believe to be the truth, and you would not have any respect for me if I did not. Coming down a little further : Is it not true that we, speaking generally, we of Great Britain, we of Canada, and we of the United States, for the past 25 years have been on our knees in adoration of German kultur ? Is it any wonder that the German nation should have become the most conceited people in the world when freeborn Britons at home and overseas, and in the great Republic, were shouting hosannas for German kultur on every possible occasion ?

Only one power never bowed the knee to German kultur, and that is the power with which I am connected in the capacity of Bishop. More than that, when professors went from Harvard and Yale and the other American universities in their pilgrimages to the shrine of German kultur; when they were accompanied by professors of Oxford and of Cambridge and of other English or British universities; when money was taken from the treasury of the people of Ontario to send our sons across to get their fill of German kultur; when they were brought back and could not obtain a situation unless they were able to display the evidences of German kultur—where was the man then that rose and cried danger ? Where was he ? He was sitting in the chair of Peter in the Vatican in Rome, and he did cry danger. And I am going to tell you how he cried it.

There is no doubt about it that the Catholic Church is a wonderful organization. There is just a little doubt that the hierarchy of Quebec and Ontario and the whole of Canada is not staying up at night devising schemes to deprive you of your liberties. Do not make any mistakes about that. We have a whole lot of things more interesting and very much more possible. But we have a wonderful organization. Every bishop is obliged to send to Rome at least once every three years, once every five years—oftener if the circumstances in his judgment call for it—a report, not of political activities in his diocese, not of commercial progress, not of the best means of throttling our neighbours. No, not that ! But what is the condition of Christianity, how do Christian principles stand, how are your people with reference to Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the world. Every bishop has to send that as a portion of his quinquennial report, or oftener if the circumstances seem necessary to him, or if he is called upon to do it. And from all quarters of the world there came in to the man on the white tower of the Vatican these reports. And I merely summarize them. Here and there and everywhere German kultur is undermining the very character of Christ. Gentlemen, I will repeat some of the terms from German theology that perhaps some of your sons have had to listen to if they have studied in German universities. Jesus Christ is called a fakir—that is one expression.

He is called a lunatic—that is another expression. The mildest thing that is said of Him is that He is under a delusion. A little more respectful still is that He is a myth; that, if He did exist at all, which is quite doubtful, He was nothing more than one of its passing influences that are really a mirage and are of no permanent effect. That was part of the report. Further report: What is German kultur doing with regard to the inspired scriptures? Tearing it page from page. There is not a single page of the Holy Writ, from the first chapter of Genesis to the last verse of the apocalypse, that has not been attacked in one way or another unfairly, unscientifically and shamefully in German universities, one place or another, within the past forty or fifty years.

Now, do you remember what happened? Recall the editorials in the leading Ontario dailies and you will realize how what happened impressed certain of our fellow citizens. Pius the Tenth, the watchman, having read reports from his officers throughout the world, felt that it was time for him to speak. And he issued that famous letter, called the Encyclical, against the errors of Modernism. Take that Encyclical to-day and read it in the light of current events, and everything that is condemned there is the thing for which your sons and your brothers and our fellow citizens are willingly giving up their lives to save, to make secure. Because he condemned the German errors regarding the person of Christ, the Redeemer; the German errors regarding scriptural interpretation and what they were pleased to call in their assumed superiority higher criticism; and the German errors with regard to that false, rationalistic philosophy that has made such horrible headway in this world of ours. That is what the letter against the Errors of Modernism was. That is what it is. What was it called here in Toronto? Well, you remember. Do not blame me if I enjoy the luxury of reading a little history. It was called another evidence of reactionary Rome. That expression, "reactionary Rome," I had often heard before. Rome is always reactionary in the eyes of some people. It was an evidence of Roman mediævalism—is not that true ? Don't you remember that that is what was said about it ? It was an attempt on the part of the tyrannical power of the poor, little, helpless, kind, gentle, sweet Pius the Tenth to throttle each and every one of us, to stop the progress of events, to send us back one hundred, two hundred years. Well, that is what you are now trying to do, to carry out to the uttermost limit, only by the expenditure of untold treasure and by the outpouring of precious blood, the things that Pius the Tenth ten years ago desired to draw to the attention of the Christian civilized world.

Now, that is about as far as I can go. I mean, I could not go any further. And if I have not broken bounds irretrievably in going that far, I am so glad that I could almost laugh. If you will give me five or six minutes to finish what I have to say, without putting me out, I will feel all my life deeply indebted to you, and I will say that I have mistaken Toronto.

A lot of these questions will come up in a practical way. They all have a meaning and they will have to be solved one way or another when this colossal contest in which we are engaged has been finally carried to our glorious victory. I am afraid of certain things. I am not going to break bounds here at all. I am afraid of certain things. I am afraid I have always been afraid of penal laws. That is not particularly because I am Irish, but it is one of the reasons. Penal laws and gloom and pharisaism and oppression to me, rightly or wrongly, are synonymous terms and to me, rightly or wrongly, are a violation of the fundamental liberties of the Magna Charta.

Now from an orgy of individualism that follows the French Revolution, where a man could do anything he pleased whether he violated and invaded the rights of another or not, we have swung the pendulum to an orgy of collectivism where the individual is going to be lost sight of, and that is a return to the pagan ideal of state omnipotism. And that is, in my view, distinctly opposed to the fundamental principles of

Magna Charta. And that, again, in my view—it is only my view, of course—if persisted in, will inevitably call forth another contest for the reissuance and reassurance of the principles underlying Magna Charta. There is a mania for the regulating of human conduct by statute. There is no denying it. I am afraid of the man in the street who says, "There ought to be a law against it." Have you ever met him ? "There ought to be a law against it." Now, I want to assure you that I have no interest, financial or other, in any pawnshop in Ontario or out of it. Yet I am opposed to a prohibition of pawnshops because they happen to aid or encourage improvidence, and because occasionally a thief hangs up a watch there. I want to assure you on my word of honour that I have no interest, financial or other, and never had in any proprietary medicine manufactured in the Province of Ontario or outside it. And yet I am opposed to the prohibition of the manufacture and sale—I must clear my throat here—of peruna because there happens to be some alcohol in it. And I am opposed to all these things, rightly or wrongly, because I so cling to human responsibility and to human liberty ; because I claim the right to lead my life so long as I do not invade the rights of anybody else in so doing. The measure of state action is the limit of individual liberty. And the question of how far the state ought to be allowed to go; for after all, you know, we have the right to say to the state just how far it may and how far it may not go ; with all due deference to the representatives of provincial or other organizations, I wish to say that no government can give back to me anything that it has not first taken from me. That I am the first giver, and that I have not definitely surrendered the right to my gift ; I have merely placed it in safe custody. And, therefore, it is my right and my business to say how far the state may go in regulating my private conduct and my individual human responsibility.

I am glad to have the opportunity of saying these things, because I want you to understand that when I take a position of any kind, it is taken as a matter of principle ; that I have arguments, good or bad, according to the way they are looked at, behind my convictions. And that in this matter of the interference of the state, of the constant multiplication of the functions of the state to the regulation of me as an individual citizen and subject, I see a very grave danger that some day I will have to do what your and my forefathers did on the ground of Runnymede and insist that the Charter of our liberties be re-issued and our freedom be given back to us.

Those are the remarks, wise and otherwise, in bounds and out of bounds, that I desire to make to you. I want to thank you very sincerely for the kind courtesy of your attention and for the generosity of your coming here at all.

Reverting once more to the main thought that is in all our minds and in all our hearts, that is the first thing to-day in our hopes and aspirations—there again, oh, there again, it is the battle of human freedom. It is the battle of men and women for their right to live and not to be oppressed. It is a contest for the broadening out of human liberty as against the restricting influence of state omnipotence. It is the cry of the masses, of the weak, of the poor, of the innocent, of the learned, of the high, of the noble—not alone in the lands of the allies, but in the unhappy land of Germany, that they all be given the right to live as God made them to live, not slaves or dupes of human tyrants. That battle to-day, perhaps, may look a little doubtful, but it is only doubtful to those of little faith :

"For freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son ;
Tho' baffled oft,
Is ever won."

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

IMPERIAL ORGANIZATION

AN ADDRESS BY R. S. NEVILLE, ESQ., K.C., TORONTO

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March, 2, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In the government of the Empire, as in other things, those who pay the piper have a just right to call the tune. Hitherto the defence of the Empire has rested chiefly upon the Mother Country and accordingly she has largely directed the policy of the Empire in its relation with foreign powers. But the Dominions, during the present great war, have shewn a disposition to bear their respective shares ; and if they are willing to obligate themselves to do so for the future, then the time is ripe for the formal consideration of a scheme of government for the Empire, which, in return, will provide for the just aspirations of the Dominions to share in the direction of foreign policy and common interests.

Never has the vital necessity of organizing the forces and resources of the Empire been demonstrated so clearly as in the world wide conflict now going on. Of all the forces of the Empire only the British Navy was completely prepared and adequate ; and it is not a pleasant reflection for Canadians that their country has had no share in the one efficient and adequate instrument of Imperial defence and power, which has relieved an otherwise hopeless situation, and saved the Empire and our prized civilization from destruction.

But I am one of those who believe that the spirit of the Canadian people is right, that the heart is sound, and that only wise leadership is now required to guide Canada along the true path of Imperial nationhood : and we have ample reason to presume the same of all the other Dominions. In fact, the Empire's hour has struck, and from this time forward the United Kingdoms of Greater Britain must be organized for the protection of every part and interest, as well as for the productive development of the whole vast realm.

Some eminent advocates of Imperial Organization in England have hesitated to put forward concrete proposals lest the Dominions should take alarm for their automony. So, they have argued, it would be better to drift along with the Imperial Conference and such other facilities for co-operation as we now possess, till the practice of working together on a voluntary basis would, by its good results, produce a universal desire to perfect the political machinery. Considering the constant emphasis that has been placed upon autonomy by the Dominions, perhaps there may be excuse for this timidity. Our English friends do not like to lie under the suspicion that they wish to withdraw from the Dominions any of the rights of self-government that have been accorded, and some of them have thought it better to await proposals from the Dominions. And in the Dominions hesitancy has resulted from divided counsel. But experience is a quick educator, and the world-events in which we are now participating have called forth widespread expressions of public opinion throughout the Empire, from which one must conclude that any reasonable scheme of organization would receive favourable consideration, no matter whence its origin.

We in the Dominions must bear in mind that the Mother Country is not seeking to increase her power over the Dominions, and no one is proposing a scheme of government that would have that effect. On the contrary, it is the Dominions that are seeking to extend their powers. As the constitution now stands, the United Kingdom is in supreme control. She not only controls the foreign relations of the whole Empire, but she can legally repeal the British North America Act or any other Dominion Constitution, and by her own authority alone, resume the Government of all the Dominions. There would be no remedy except unlawful and successful resistance, or to speak plainly, revolution. Of course, these powers now lie dormant ; but constitutions have been abrogated before now, and such a procedure might become necessary again somewhere within the bounds of our wide realm of the future, if some local government should abuse its powers.

In any acceptable Imperial Constitution supreme power would be placed differently. The Dominions would probably be given powers of amendment over their own constitutions (some of them have such powers now), but all truly Imperial powers would be transferred from the United Kingdom to a new Imperial body created by the new Imperial Constitution, in which the Dominions would be represented. Thus the Dominions would acquire a share in the supreme control of the Empire, and to that extent the power of the Mother Country would be reduced. So, I repeat, it is plain that any representative Imperial government would diminish the powers of the United Kingdom and enhance those of the Dominions : and this is what they want, and as it should be.

In considering the nature of the Imperial Organization, we must observe certain fundamental principles and objects, and, without violating those principles, adapt the Imperial machinery to the objects in view :

1. The principle of responsible representative government must run through all the governing bodies.

2. The autonomous character of the government of the Dominions must be maintained, as well as that of the United Kingdom.

3. A share in the direction and control of foreign policy must be accorded to the Dominions.

4. A corresponding share of the burden of Empire must be assumed by the Dominions.

5. The Empire must be enabled to speak as a unit in dealing with foreign nations, either friendly or hostile.

6. With "safety first" provided for, we must cast aside our provincialism, adopt the principle of mutual

aid, and consider the Empire as well as Canada in all our policy.

It will be well for us to bear in mind the historic trend of events by which the British Empire has come to be what it is ; for precedent and tradition are powerful forces that can never be ignored. I refer particularly to the development of our modern Dominions. The trend is so manifestly similar in them all, that we may take Canada as the example. From the mild military government that prevailed after the British occupation, we have passed by one step after another to government by Governors and Councils, to representative assemblies, and to full responsible self-government in domestic affairs ; and lately we find ourselves negotiating commercial agreements with foreign governments quite independently of the Mother Country. Taking into consideration that, concurrently with these developments by which we gradually acquired complete control of our internal affairs, the British military forces were withdrawn, leaving us in military occupation as well as with the civil power in our hands, it must be plain to all that we have gone far towards national independence. The appointment of ambassadors to foreign capitals with a notification to London that we have assumed control of our foreign relations, is about the only important step left for us to take to sever our connection with the Empire. The negotiation of independent commercial agreements with foreign governments brings us a step closer to this end, and if we had a Canadian Navy we would be in a position to step forth into the international arena fully equipped.

Fortunately there is another side to the picture. Within the last thirty years we have begun our Colonial Conferences and developed them into regular Imperial Conferences ; we have introduced preferential trade ; obtained a position on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and on the Imperial Committee of Defence ; established confidential relations with the British Government with regard to foreign affairs ; contributed contingents to the Boer War ; and finally pledged our full resources in the common cause of the Empire in her greatest war. These and similar steps taken by all the Dominions voluntarily seem to indicate that they think they have travelled far enough towards independence, and to proclaim to the world that they have finally decided to stand or fall with the Mother Country as a United Empire. And the same history proclaims on the part of the Mother Country the welcome of the Dominions to her Councils, and invites them to full co-operation in Imperial affairs.

Adopting this view, and considering what has already been said, let us see what constitutional machinery can be devised by means of which our Imperial relations can be put upon a satisfactory and permanent basis.

There are cautious ones who think that we had better begin with an Advisory Council ; and some would have an Imperial Council. Either of these would undoubtedly have its uses. By such means the Dominions would be brought into constant touch with the British Government, and could give authorized expression to their views, and in this way their influence might be made more constant, their knowledge more complete. But increased knowledge and influence would still fall short of power. A Council might be given some administrative or executive power. It might be a useful means of inquiry, investigation and report, into and upon various subjects, and aid in bringing about improved communications, transportation facilities and trade relation and more harmonious laws and so on. But the members of either of these Councils would act on separate instructions and be responsible to their respective governments thousands of miles apart. Neither of them could be made to accord with the principle of responsible government, as known and practised in British communities. Neither of them could be given the ordinary powers of government or legislation of a general character, nor the direction of foreign affairs. The best we can say of a Council is that it would make consultation more convenient, and understanding and co-operation easier.

It would be a step forward, but not a solution of our problem. It is possible, too, that some of our objects might be carried out, by having representatives of the Dominions associated with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as Assistant or Under-Secretaries, the representative of each Dominion being particularly charged with the duty of looking after the interests of his own country, subject, in matters of Imperial or common concern, to the concurrence of the Foreign Secretary or of a Conference of all the secretaries. Such an arrangement would certainly give the Dominions a large share in the management of their own external affairs, and a voice in shaping Imperial foreign policy. I only suggest such a scheme for consideration because it may contain elements worth considering, when we have found a more satisfactory solution. I cannot dwell upon it now.

At the same time we must bear in mind the ease with which, under the British system, a Cabinet of Ministers may be varied or enlarged. Witness the presence (by courtesy of course) of Sir Robert Borden, our Prime Minister, at a Cabinet meeting in London; and, later, that of Mr. Hughes, Australian Prime Minister, at another, having previously attended a meeting of our Cabinet at Ottawa. Witness the elevation of Lord Robert Cecil to Cabinet rank in London by a simple summons. It would seem quite possible to follow the precedent established by the invitations to Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Hughes, till it grew into a recognized practice to have Dominion representatives called into Cabinet or Council when Imperial questions were to be discussed. Such expedients shew the elasticity of the British System, well worth preserving.

Before going further, I must give some attention to the subject of a perpetual voluntary Britannic Alliance which has been put forward as an alternative to political organization. The alliance is not to include any form of Imperial government. On the contrary it contemplates a continuation of the historic trend of the Dominions away from the legal restraints of the

Imperial tie until they become independent nation-States. The Alliance, remember, is to be purely voluntary and it is postulated that it will be perpetual. The British Government's Imperial powers are to fall into desuetude, so far as the Dominions are concerned, and nothing will take its place. India and the other dependencies and Crown colonies are to remain subject to the enjoyment of self-government and take her place with the other Dominions as an independent nation-State. British West Indies may become confederated and take the same position. The Crown is to be the common symbol of all the autonomous units. But there will be no common government. Each will exercise supreme government for itself, and be as independent as a foreign nation. Each will have its own representatives at foreign capitals and at London, and its own military and naval forces.

Frankly, I am unable to see the slightest probability, or even a comprehensive possibility, of the proposed perpetual voluntary Alliance either becoming perpetual or being satisfactory while it would last. The "Independent nation-States" within the Empire are to be under no obligations to one another. To speak of an Alliance without obligations is to misuse words. No such Alliance has ever existed, or ever can. Think of it. This Alliance is to be the result of our growing apart, not of our coming together ; and this growing apart, it is assumed, will be accompanied by schemes of mutual aid which will so increase the ties of sentiment and interest as to hold the Allies together in perpetuity. You will detect the fallacy in this ; for surely there are no ties of sentiment or interest that will be strengthened by our growing apart. I can find no single advantage that could be obtained by co-operative effort under such an Alliance, that could not be more readily obtained and more securely held by co-operative effort under some form of common government in which the Dominions would share and under which they would have a sense of common proprietary rights over the whole world-wide realm. There is a vast difference between being occupants of semi-detached dwellings and being joint proprietors of an Imperial estate.

(A MEMBER: Who is putting forward such a scheme of Empire ?)

I believe those who advocate it are sincere friends of the Empire, and it is their views I wish to combat without any reflections upon their motives. I wish also to avoid all personalities ; for I hope to find these same gentlemen working with us in the future. I must only say that one of them, an author of repute, has published a book advocating the Voluntary Alliance I am now discussing. His book circulates throughout the Empire and may do much harm, unless his views are fairly met and answered. A friend of the Empire, gone wrong, may do much greater harm than a known enemy.

It is claimed by the advocates of a Britannic Alliance that mutual preferential trade, improved transportation facilities, increased correspondence, more intimate acquaintance and more frequent personal friendship, coupled with a sense of mutual aid in living, would favour a perpetuation of the Alliance. But the real strength of the Alliance would rest upon a unified economic system. These are conditions, however, which have yet to be created, and so far as they are desirable, we are in a better position to bring them about than we shall be after our relations have become attenuated into a mere voluntary Alliance. Besides, the unification of the Empire's economic system is, as yet, far beyond the distant horizon. To await its advent is to adopt a policy of indefinite drift, and possibly lose an opportunity that may never be so favourable again. It may be further said, that economic unification is not at all necessary to Imperial unity.

This proposal of a Britannic Alliance, which is to be purely voluntary, is highly dangerous and that will be my excuse for dwelling upon it a little further.

We are to have mutual preferential trade to please the Dominions. Of course, the Mother Country must join with them in a protective system against foreigners. But we are to have free trade throughout the Empire to please the Mother Country. So everyone will be happy. Capital is to be encouraged to remain in the Empire to develop it—by preferential treatment, also by penalizing investments abroad with stamp duties, heavier income taxes and heavier death duties. But these inviting appeals are, like many others, made on the false assumption that they pertain, *a fortiori*, to the proposed Alliance, whereas the objects can be accomplished under any other system quite as well, or better, if they are thought desirable.

The proposed economic system takes for granted that the Mother Country will supply the manufactures for the Dominions and they will find the Mother Country the market for their natural products. To make economic unification complete, the "natural protection" which distance supplies is to be abolished, or minimized, by greatly reduced transportation charges ; and, still further, by making these transportation charges uniform between all parts of the realm, regardless of distance, just as letter postage is made uniform for all distances. Ultimately, it is suggested, that transportation might be made free at the public expense, the lines being maintained as public highways are maintained to-day.

This is to apply to passenger rates as well as freight ; so that those whose poverty does not permit them to emigrate now, will be able to go to the Dominions to better their conditions. Thus the conditions of labour are to be unified. But to avoid the shock that this suggestion might give to the Dominions, the Mother Country is first to adopt protection and other measures, to bring the conditions of labour in the British Isles up to the standard of the Dominions. She is to level up. The Dominions are not to be levelled down.

Now we come to the question of foreign policy. Remember that the Dominions are to be independent nation-States. The United Kingdom and each Dominion are to have their respective foreign representatives at the capital of each foreign nation. When the interests agree they will work together harmoniously ; when the interests differ each representative will work for his own country. The Mother Country will be in control of all the Empire except the Dominions, and will manage her own foreign affairs. If the Dominions approve her policy, they will voluntarily support it. If they disapprove they will stand aside. Conceivably they may oppose it ; and, I repeat, the Dominions are to have their independent naval and military forces.

Let us suppose a concrete case. The Mother Country desires to enforce her treaty rights with regard to opium against China, and China refuses to carry out her obligations. Britain decides that it is necessary to make a naval demonstration in Chinese waters, possibly, if necessary, to be followed by bombardment of a Chinese port, if China remains obdurate. The British Government asks the Canadian and Australian Governments to transfer their respective Pacific naval forces to the British Admiralty, to be sent to Chinese waters for this purpose. The latter governments first hold Council meetings and debate the merits of Britain's policy. If they approve, they pass the necessary Orders-in-Council and act as desired. If they disapprove, they do not pass the Orders and refuse their aid.

This is an illustration put forward by the author I have mentioned, and the refusal of the Dominions to act is based upon the assumption that Britain's policy and proposed action would shock their national instincts. Thus, he suggests that a perpetual voluntary Britannic Alliance might be maintained between the Dominions and the Mother Country, although her policy and conduct might so shock the national instincts of their people that they would refuse to perform their ordinary duties as Allies. This is to assume that the moral sensibilities or national instincts of the Dominions are far superior to those of the Mother Country. It is to assume that she is so reckless as to risk the estrangement of the Dominions and the breaking up of the Empire for the sake of selling a little opium. I would like to say to our Homeland author that we in the Dominions have more faith in the Mother Country than he seems to have ; and further, that the remedy against such a possibility is not the erection of the Dominions into independent nation-States, but the adoption of a system of Imperial organization that will bring the Mother Country and the Dominions into agreement beforehand, so that no such situation could ever arise.

The diplomatic arrangements proposed include the appointments by the Dominions of ambassadorial representatives to London as well as to foreign capitals, and with regard to the latter, the member of the Alliance that might have the preponderating interest at any capital would appoint the ambassador ; the other Allies, only *attachés*. Thus Canada would appoint the Ambassador to Washington, Great Britain an *attaché*.

But then, in reality, our relations with foreign countries are to become comparatively unimportant, for our unified economic system is to put the Empire in a position of "splendid isolation." Let others have the foreign markets. We must not fret if foreign nations even combine against us by granting one another mutual preferential trade arrangements at our expense, and from which we are excluded. The open door policy may go by the board. The new foreign policy will be defensive as now, but concerned, not with foreign trade, but with the preservation of our unrivalled opportunities *within* the Empire.

There will be no Imperial expenditure, consequently no apportionment of Imperial burdens. If the Mother Country happens to be an island close to a continent and with unfriendly neighbours, that is her misfortune. The other British nation-States are not responsible for geography. She must look after herself. Presumably each British nation-State will have to do the same. Plainly then, there is to be no union of strength, no common defence, no united action except on the impulse of the moment. But we may make mutual agreements. So we could now. But there would be no means of enforcing these agreements—mere scraps of paper—under an alliance. So it is proposed to have unofficial Britannic organization, with strong vigilance committees, to bring local public opinion into line in each community and to bring this worked-up public opinion to bear on the local government and keep it from shirking its obligations, if it shewed signs of a desire to do so. The Victoria League, the Overseas Club, and the Royal Colonial Institute are mentioned as examples of organizations that might be used for this purpose. I might add a suggestion from the German system of buying up the press of any Dominion that might need enlightenment.

Now it is plain that the devotees of Alliance have overlooked one of the most important elements of nation-building and that is *strength.* You cannot have a strong building unless the various parts are bound together for mutual support. Decoration, ornamentation and even conveniences can be dispensed with ; but without solid foundations and mutual support of all the parts, the building will not be safe ; and without safety, we must decline to trust our lives in it.

These gentlemen confess that the strength of the proposed Alliance lies in the economic and other developments such as I have mentioned. There is to be not only a revolution in world policy, but an economic revolution ; and free trade throughout, substituted voluntarily, of course, but permanently, is to supplant the fiscal and economic systems of the Dominions. If so, there is no prospect of an effectual Alliance becoming a settled fact short of the Millennium, and then it won't be needed. If we take their advice, we shall just follow a policy of drift and we shall have the well-earned reward of the shiftless, the short-sighted and the shirker.

The brilliant Greeks could never conceive of anything broader than City States and unstable alliances. And when a new colony was founded, the colonists carried sacred fire from the altar to their new home, set up a new altar and kept it burning. Sentiment was not lacking. But there was no political union. The colonies were mere volunteers in the quarrels of the motherland, or kept aloof. They were free to quarrel among themselves or to fight against the mother country. The empire died from anæmic voluntaryism and it is to be the same fate that the advocates of a voluntary Britannic Alliance would lead the British Empire.

What then is the ultimate solution of our problem? It is undoubtedly some form of federation. We may approach that end by means of an Advisory Council, an Imperial Council, organized Conferences, or any other institution that will facilitate co-operation ; but without a common government, we cannot have effective common action, or achieve Imperial stability ; and to have responsible government in Empire affairs we must have an Empire Parliament, Assembly, or Congress, representative of all the federated parts, to which Imperial ministers will be responsible.

One of the essentials of responsible government is a live wire and close connection between the King and the people. Under British systems of constitutional government, this is provided by making the King's ministers the people's servants. But the King's ministers in the Dominions who are the servants of the people of the Dominions, have no jurisdiction to deal with Imperial policy. Hence in Imperial affairs the Dominions are entirely without the system of responsible government. To remedy this, we must create a body of Imperial ministers who will be responsible to the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Dominions all sitting together in one Imperial Assembly. That is the only way in which the Dominions can obtain or complete their autonomy, in external or Imperial affairs, and at the same time, in that wider field, enjoy representative and responsible government. As we are now, some of the most vital interests of the Dominions are wholly beyond the jurisdiction of Dominion ministers. They are in the hands of ministers who are responsible solely to the people of the United Kingdom. Thus, our foreign affairs, involving issues of peace or war, are not in the hands of our people, but in the hands of the people of the United Kingdom, and in this respect we have one democratic people exercising irresponsible power over several other democratic peoples, a condition that the latter, as self-respecting competent peoples, cannot permit to continue.

It may seem bold to advocate any kind of Empire Federation when we consider the fate of the last Imperial Federation movement. But the work of the promoters was then pioneer work. The period of *laissez faire* had not yet passed away. The Empire spirit was only beginning to make its appearance. Since then we have wakened to outside danger, to the threat to free institutions and to the need of all our united and organized strength. The Dominions now realize that the Mother Country is necessary to them, and she realizes not only their economic, but their military value to her. A very proper Imperial pride is in evidence, and not the less because we have been passing through a recent period of humiliation, caused largely by the very lack of organization we now advocate. If free nations cannot organize, then free nations will cease to exist. We see now, for the first time in living memory, the age-old contest for world power waged with unscrupulous skill and unprecedented strength, and we realize that there is one kind of Imperialism that seeks to establish a monopoly of power upon the ruins of the national liberties of the world. It is a monster without conscience and reappears whenever Freedom sleeps. As an Empire of free nations, we shall deserve our fate if we do not heed the lesson.

I urge upon you, then, the federation of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, and one Imperial Parliament, and I am under the impression that this Parliament should be a new creation, not a grafting of something new upon the present British Parliament.

We do not need, in an Imperial Parliament, over 600 members of the Commons from the United Kingdom, with as many more Lords. Such a Parliament, with proportionate representation from the Dominions, would be quite unwieldy, and much less useful and expeditious than a smaller body. We do not require a large number of "back benchers." Whether there be two houses or one is a matter of detail. But Lords and Commoners should be eligible for membership, and that membership should consist of men chosen for the purpose, either by election or by appointment, or by some method agreed on at an Imperial Conference or Convention.

The principles of responsible government, as understood in our existing Parliaments, would have to be observed, and the new Imperial Parliament would deal with only those questions assigned to it by the Constitution. All the powers now vested in the British Parliament would lapse so far as the Dominions and the Empire are concerned. Those necessary to be kept alive would be transferred to the Imperial Parliament. The British Parliament would become, as it were, a Dominion Parliament to deal with the affairs of the United Kingdom. The principle of autonomy would extend to the local business of all, and the extreme autonomist would be satisfied by giving the Imperial Parliament only delegated powers.

His Majesty's advisers in Imperial affairs would be the Cabinet of the new Imperial Parliament ; in local affairs the Cabinets of the local Parliaments. The Imperial Parliament would have the power to amend the Imperial Constitution, of course, but only in accordance with the procedure agreed upon and provided in the Constitution itself. The powers essential to the Imperial Parliament are wide but few. They would extend to Foreign Policy and Defence, as a matter of course, and to such other matters as would be agreed on for convenience, expediency or mutual advantage, and the list could be extended from time to time as experience invited it.

The Imperial Cabinet would include a Prime Minister, a Foreign Secretary, a Chancellor of the Imperial Exchequer, and Secretaries or Ministers for the Army, for the Navy, for India, for the Dependencies and such others as would be found necessary or advisable. Members from the Dominions would be equally eligible for portfolios with those from the United Kingdom, and instead of seeing an antipodean sitting in the ruins of London Bridge, posterity may yet see a New

Zealander Prime Minister of the United Kingdoms of Greater Britain.

And here let me say a word to the autonomist who fears that Imperial Organization will infringe the rights of self-government of the Dominions in their domestic affairs. We are all autonomists. Those of us who wish to extend the principle of self-government to external affairs by a political organization which will give the Dominions equal status with the Mother Country in the Empire, and a proportionate voice in directing common interests, must not be accused of being unfaithful to self-government. On the contrary, we wish to extend it. Those who are content to have autonomy at home and subordination abroad are not consistent autonomists at all. Yer we understand their point of view. They fear that Imperial federation will undermine local autonomy. This I entirely deny. I believe that a scheme of government for the Empire can be devised which will give ample, though only delegated, powers to the Imperial Government, and so defined as to leave untouched every right of self-government which we now enjoy and wish to retain.

Under an Imperial federal system, we shall continue to make our laws, civil and criminal, establish our own Courts of Justice, and appoint our own judges, police and officials. Our assets, too, will be left untouched. Lands, mines, forests, waters, water powers and fisheries—everything we now possess will still be ours. We shall still control immigration and the conditions of citizenship. The educational system will also remain in our own hands. So will our fiscal system and every incident of taxation will remain under our own control just as now. These are the things that touch us most intimately. In fact, the daily life of the ordinary citizen will not be touched at all by Imperial Organization except that we shall pay our honest dues and leave off forever our parasitic dependence upon British taxpayers for the defence of our coasts and overseas commerce.

The Constitution itself would, in accordance with our original hypothesis, provide for a just distribution of the burdens of Empire. The taxable capacity of the United Kingdom, and each Dominion could be ascertained by independent and impartial experts to begin with and re-ascertained periodically—say once in five years—so as to keep pace with the growth and development of each country. This taxable capacity, either alone or modified by other considerations, would be the basis of taxation for Imperial purposes, and when the budget was passed, once a year, or once in two years perhaps, the proper proportion of taxation would be assigned to each, collected by the local governments as agents of the Imperial Exchequer and paid over. If security were thought advisable, certain taxes could be pledged or ear-marked for Imperial purposes, and the Imperial machinery provided for collecting them in case any government should make default. This would give the required financial strength, and in a crisis the taxable capacity of the whole Empire could be pledged for loans, thus enabling the Empire to get the most favourable terms. The power to tax is the only means by which any government can give a lender security, and the value of the security depends upon the taxable capacity of the people. By pledging the whole autonomous Empire, the security would be much improved and the best terms obtained.

The first and grand purpose for which the Imperial revenues would be required, after paying the expenses of the Imperial Government, Parliament and foreign representatives, would be the security of the Empire—that is, for the maintenance of the Navy and Army, the coaling stations and other means of defence. The expenses would follow of any other matters that might be placed by the Constitution within the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government.

With regard to defence, local defence would be a part of the general defence, and the entire expenditure, general and local, would have to be considered, so that, in adjusting the contributions to the Imperial

Exchequer, credit would be given to each country for its expenditure for local defence.

Each Imperial unit would be free to adopt its own military system, and military arrangements and forces would all be co-ordinated. Each might supply its own naval forces for the defences of its own coasts and ports, that is, submarines, torpedo boats, destroyers, or whatever was intended to operate only from local bases. Each could also, if it wished, provide fast cruisers to protect the trade routes. There would be no lack of opportunity to encourage shipbuilding in any Dominion. That would rest with itself. But the great fighting units that would be intended to "go anywhere and do anything" should belong to an Imperial Navy maintained by all and under one control.

There would be nothing to prevent one country from having universal military service or conscription, if it so decided, without interfering with the liberty of the others. Each would profit, no doubt, from the example and experience of another, and there might be a tendency to adopt similar measures, but only in accordance with the principles of autonomy. There should be enlistment for overseas service throughout the whole Federated Empire in accordance with the local systems, so that the Imperial Government would always know the military strength available for Imperial purposes. There would be no reason why others should not enlist for home defence only, so that the services of those who would not or could not go abroad would still be available for home defence.

Whatever local staffs, military and naval colleges and so on there might be, everything would be co-ordinated, and there would be an Imperial Admiralty and an Imperial Army Council or Staff, that would direct the operation of the Imperial forces. With these Imperial forces at command of an Imperial Government, an Imperial Foreign Secretary would be able to negotiate with both friends and possible enemies, with complete knowledge of the Imperial strength that would be ready to support his diplomacy.

The Dominions could retain control of their fiscal systems and immigration as now. They would, in fact, retain all their powers of local government and their autonomy, made more complete by being extended to the foreign field.

The steps to be taken to accomplish an organization of the Empire are simple. A special Imperial Conference or an Imperial convention could be called, representative of all the autonomous units of the Empire, concrete proposals discussed and essentials agreed on. If we can agree on essentials then we can have a Constitution. If we cannot agree, we can do the next best thing. We can find out our differences, then we can discuss the proposals and differences throughout the Empire and have another or other conferences till agreement is reached. We should not be discouraged with disagreement. No federal constitution has ever yet been adopted offhand. The United States had their difficulties. So had Canada. Australia took years to get even a homogeneous people into agreement. South Africans had to compromise. And it is hardly likely that an Imperial constitution can be adopted without much discussion. But the prize is worth our utmost effort, and the sooner we take the first step by means of an Imperial Conference or Convention, the sooner we shall be able to reach the desired end.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

THE JEWS AND PATRIOTISM

AN ADDRESS BY THE REV. RABBI JACOBS

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 9, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with great pleasure that I accepted the invitation of your President to address you. I cannot say, like the Scotchman in Rob Roy, that my name is MacGregor and I stand on my native heath ; nor can I even say that my name is MacJacobs and I am filled with the Scottish spirit. But I can declare with greater pride that I am of the Jewish race, and proud of my birthright as an Englishman and as a British subject. "Has history produced so noble a patriot as the Jew ?" These are not my words, but they are the words of the Rev. John Watson, better known as Ian MacLaren, the writer of that charming book, "Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush." He used those words preaching some years ago at the Congregational Church in West Hampstead, London. "Has history produced so noble a patriot as the Jew ?" If you want any proof of this, my friends, all that you have to do is to turn to the pages of Holy Writ, and also to those of secular history. There you will find in Holy Writ that in the days of hoary antiquity, Abraham, the progenitor of the Jewish race, swears fealty to the king of the country in which he sojourns, and vows that he will not act falsely toward that land, but will do his utmost to serve it. Later on in Jewish history we find Joseph serving the country of Egypt and keeping it from starvation. In Bible history we find such men as Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel and Mordecai sitting in the king's gate and in the palace of the king, serving their monarchs with fealty and with devotion. When the destruction of the temple took place, the

Jews then became wanderers and fugitives over the face of the earth. Antipater shows to Julius Caesar thirty odd wounds, which he had received whilst fighting in his cause and for the welfare of the Roman Commonwealth. The Ptolemies of Egypt entrusted all their finances, and very often the safety of their persons, to Jewish agents. Cleopatra selects a Jewish general to protect her against the usurpation of her son.

Later on we find that the Jews come into Europe; they located themselves in Spain, in Germany, in England, in Italy and in France. In all these countries in the course of years they acquired positions of great trust. When Ferdinand and Isabella expelled the Jews from Spain they drove from that country 800,000 of their best subjects. Their conduct was marvelled at by the Sultan of Constantinople, who says: "What, do you call Ferdinand and Isabella wise monarchs, to have driven away their best and most serviceable subjects to become citizens of my empire and to enrich it?" He was right! If you search the pages of Spanish history you will find how the Jews served that country as ministers, as financial advisers, as politicians and as soldiers. It is related in one of the old Spanish chronicles that when Don Henry rose in rebellion against the lawful monarch, Don Pedro, the Jews of Spain sided with Don Pedro. Eventually Don Pedro was defeated by the usurper, but the Jews would not give in, and they still defended the cities of Burgos and Toledo against the usurper. The usurper endeavoured to get their support, but they urged that they could not maintain his cause because, having sworn allegiance to Don Pedro, they could not forsake his house, but it was their duty to maintain the right of the deposed monarch's legal successor. Later on we find in Germany and in Italy the Jews doing active and faithful service on behalf of their respective monarchs.

Now the question may be asked, my friends, what constitutes citizenship in a country? Is it to be born there, or is it to be a lineal descendant of one who has settled in the country in years gone by? We Jews believe, in the old Roman proverb: "Ubi bene, ibi patria." "Where it is well with you, that is your country." No Jew believes that his claim to residence in a country rests on the fact that his ancestors took violent possession of the territory and that superior strength robbed the half naked savages of their land. We believe that our country is the place where we enjoy the protection of the laws, where we can work for our living without being interfered with, where our home is; where we can bring up and educate our children; where the interest and welfare of our fellow citizens are bound up with ours; where we can worship our heavenly Maker according to the dictates of our conscience, and where we can fulfil the duties of life in every direction without let or hindrance. That is our fatherland to which we owe loyalty, and nothing whatever can free us from our patriotic duty o that country. That, my friends, is the Jewish ideal of citizenship.

There are many people who think that the Jew is just here for a short time. Why, there are the most stupid ideas existing about us Jews. I remember some years ago, after preaching, a Christian lady who was there came up to me and congratulated me on the way that I had expressed myself and said I had quite an English pronunciation. I said to her "Why should I not have one?" She replied, "Were not you born in Jerusalem? I thought all Rabbis were born in Jerusalem?" I assured her I was not, that I was a Yorkshireman and came from the good old city where you have the best cutlery in the world; in other words, where they make the good, true blades, the Sheffield blade. Some people think that every Jew is prepared to go to Jerusalem by the first train. I would not mind going to Jerusalem for a short time but I would take very great care I took a return ticket with me to come back. So, you see my friends, that we Jews make the country where we live, our home. Our native land, or the country of our adoption is as dear to us as to the other indwellers.

The Jew is not a newcomer to Canada. It may surprise some of you to know that whilst General Wolfe was battering away at the gates of Quebec, and whilst Amherst was investing Montreal, Jews were marching in their armies. There were Jewish soldiers under Sir Frederick John Haldimand helping in the attack on Montreal. I might mention the names of some of those Jews. First of all, Aaron Hart, the father of that Ezekial Hart who was elected member of Parliament for the constituency of Three Rivers in the year 1807, but who could not take his seat because he could not conscientiously take the oath, as it stood in those days. Then likewise there were officers of the name of Emanuel de Cordova, Hananiel Garcia, and Isaac Miranda who assisted to extend the boundary of the empire and to win dominions for England across the seas. So, you see my friends, the Jew is not a newcomer to Canada. Perhaps you may think, well he is a newcomer as far as England is concerned. Not at all. Because when I search some ancient manuscripts I find that before the year 690 A.D. there were Jews settled in England. At about this time Egbert, the Archbishop of York, passed certain regulations forbidding Christians to appear at Jewish feasts, or to take gifts. The Jews came over to England in greater numbers at the time of William the Conqueror. They were practically the bankers of the country. They financed the king ; and were protected by him. They were still in greater favour with his son William Rufus. It is on record that (William of Malmesbury) once ordered a disputation on the grounds of the Jewish and Christian religion. Certain bishops were to defend the Christianity and the Rabbis were to speak in favour of Judaism, and he took a very profane oath, as William of Malmesbury tells us, swearing by the face of St. Luke that if the Jews were to get the better part of the argument he, himself, would become a follower of Judaism. But the monkish chronicles relate that fortunately, as a sign of heaven's displeasure, a terrible thunder-storm took place which drove the disputants away and put an end to the argument.

The Jews became very wealthy in England under the Norman rulers, but these monarchs were so exacting to their subjects that unfortunately the poor Jews, as usual, had to bear the brunt of the illfavour of the population and they were driven from England in the year 1290. Some 365 years afterwards they were readmitted under Cromwell. Cromwell was a wise statesman who could foresee what was best for the country, and he welcomed their return. Under his rule we find that one Jew of the name of Simon De Caerres offered to go to Jamaica and wrest that country from the dominion of the Spaniards. His offer was accepted and he was successful, and thus was instrumental in winning Jamaica as a part of the British Empire. A little after that he made the offer to Cromwell to go to Chili and furnish a regiment of his own co-religionists with a view of acquiring Chili for the English people. But Cromwell was then engaged in other matters of state and could not give that undertaking his countenance. It was Jewish money which helped William Prince of Orange to come to England and take possession of the British crown. His own subjects would not help him at all financially. He had spent so much money on the Spanish war and on the wars in France that they could not finance him, and it was an Amsterdam Jew who loaned him the money to come over to England and take possession of the crown which was offered to him.

From that date to the present day the Jews have been most serviceable to the crown and the country of England. In the year 1745 we hear of some young men in London volunteering to form a regiment to defend London against the approaching army of the Jacobite Pretender. About the same time we read of a Jew of the name of Sampson Gideon lending the British Government £1,700,000, so that England could equip an army to fight against the French. About three years after that he re-arranged the national debt and saved the country a great deal of money.

This Sampson Gideon was rather an ambitious man and very broad-minded. It is on record that he gave most generous donations every year to a society, which some of you may have heard of, the Society for the "relief and Education of the Sons of the Clergy," and on his death he bequeathed to it what was, in those days, a vast sum,—the amount of £2,000.

The Duke of Wellington prided himself on the fact that he had fifteen officers fighting under him at Waterloo. Amongst them was Albert Goldsmith, who afterwards became Major-General. But before we read of these officers who fought under Wellington we come across such names as Sir Jacob Adolphus, Lieutenant-General Alexander Schomberg, R.N., Sir David Ximenes, Lieutenant-Gen. Sir George d'Aguilar, Major-General George Salis-Schwabe and likewise Joshua Montefiore, who was the uncle of Sir Moses Montefiore. All these were officers in the British Army and did not scruple to endanger life and limb for the welfare of their native land.

I have not the time to go over the story of how the Jews in England obtained their civic rights. But one of the citizens of London who shed most lustre on the Jewish name and on his British citizenship was Sir David Solomon. It is on record when he was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1855, the London Times had an article that morning which stated : For the first time London has now a Lord Mayor who can speak and write the English language with propriety.

I would like to mention a few names to prove to you how patriotic and how public spirited the Jews have been and how they have appreciated the right of British citizenship. There is Sir Moses Montefiore, who gave away thousands and tens of thousands of pounds in his life time, and bequeathed vast sums in charity on his death. The Goldsmiths, who were the patrons of art and learning, who endowed beds in hospitals. The Rothchilds, whose names are proverbial throughout the world.

We might well ask ourselves the question : Where would the British Empire in the East be if it had not been safeguarded by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. It was Lord Rothchild, then Sir Nathaniel Rothchild, who on the suggestion of Lord Beaconsfield, and at a few hours' notice, provided the millions necessary for that marvellous political coup d'etat. Then that Jewish product Lord Beaconsfield. See the marvellous services he rendered to Great Britain! He was instrumental in cementing the ties of affection between our Indian Empire and the Home country by having the Queen proclaimed Empress of India. It is Lord Wandsworth, also a well-known Jewish citizen, who bequeathed the sum of two millions for an orphanage for Christian children. Then I daresay you may recognize the name of the late Lord Pirbright better known as Baron Henry de Worms, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Sir John Simon, and Lord Reading, who is now the Lord Chief Justice. The Right Hon. Herbert Samuel who is Home Secretary at the present moment. The Hon. Edwin Montague who is rendering such valuable assistance to the British Crown, as Financial Adviser. Then I here mention the name of David Lewes of Liverpool, who bequeathed the sum of £600,000, three million dollars, to found homes and hospitals and convalescent institutions for the benefit of the poor and the aged of the cities of Manchester and Liverpool. Then I will conclude with the name of Frederick David Mocatta the man who had an income of many thousand pounds a year, and who was known to give away three quarters of his income for charitable objects.

Now, my friends, do we then live up to the ideals of citizenship ? Do we prove ourselves worthy of the benefits we have received by being admitted to the hospitable shores of England ? There can only be one answer and that is "We do." But, my friends, what are all these sacrifices in comparison with those which we Jews are making at the present moment and which we have made as soldiers ? What is all this financial sacrifice and all these benefactions to public institutions compared with the lives and limb which we endanger now for the glory and for the defence of England and her Empire? Actually nothing!

Some years ago at the time of the South African war, three hundred Jews lost their lives and several hundred were wounded fighting the cause of England. And at the present moment we have some 18,000 Jews fighting in the trenches, for the cause of England because they believe that it is a good and righteous one. To the present moment—according to figures which have been issued by the Chaplain of the British Army—we find that three hundred have been killed and seven hundred wounded. That in this small force of 18,000, there are three who have gained V.C.'s ; there are ten who have gained the D.C.M. ; there are three who have gained the D.S.O. Three military crosses have also been granted. And this is only really a small estimate of the Jews who are serving at the present time in the army, who have been wounded and who have been killed. Because it is a wellknown fact that there are some thousands who have joined the army and have not registered as Jews. I think I could go on for a long time on this subject but I have been threatened by the pains and penalities of the Empire Club,—its displeasure—if I continue beyond the time, so I am going to close now.

I only wish to say if there are any people in the British Empire who have endangered life and limb for its aggrandizement, it is the Jewish people. With us, as I told you a few moments ago, patriotism is a religious duty. It is a sacred heritage with us. We pray for the welfare of the Empire Sabbath after Sabbath. We never have a religious service without we invoke the blessing of God on our King, on our country, or without praying for the success and the ultimate victory of the British arms. We think it a sacred duty to fulfil the words of the prophet : Pray for the peace and welfare of the country within which you dwell, for therein shall ye have peace and happiness. The Roman poet sings, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." "It is a sweet and pleasant thing to die for one's native land." He sings it but we Jews have always practised it. In every country where we have lived, in every clime we have always shed our blood for the welfare of our country. And we acknowledge, with pride, England our Motherland deserves it. For who has acted to the Jews as England has acted. She has enfranchised the Jew, she has ennobled him, she has given him full rights ; she has widened the sphere of his liberties; she has given him every opportunity to prove that the Jew can be a citizen, and a patriot, and he has done it.

I am going to conclude, if you will permit me, with the words of the Rev. Archdeacon Black Scott, who preaching some time ago a sermon in a British cathedral on the Christian attitude towards Israel ; concludes with these words : "The civilized world must love the Jewish people much to repay what it owed to them. Some sincere people imagine that being kind to Israel meant facilitating the return of the race to Palestine. "Would you not like," asked an enthusiastic English woman of a Jew, "to go back to your own country, to Palestine ?" "Would you like to go back to your German forests ?" was the Jew's happy response. "Better"—and these are his concluding words—"better that all civilized people should go back to the forests of barbarism than that they should disgrace humanity and culture by denying to the Jew the comradeship in social life, in citizenship and in religion to which his unprofane belief in God, his highly developed intelligence and his patriotism entitled him."

I did not wish to exceed the time and I now conclude, thanking you for the very kind attention that you have given me. I must say I have not exhausted the subject. It is really inexhaustible. If we once commence to read the history of the Jewish community as it is scattered throughout the world, as it has been for centuries, and how that community has acted, we will find ample proof that the Jew is worthy of his citizenship, and loves his native land.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

CANADIAN RESOURCES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

AN ADDRESS BY A. E. DONOVAN ESQ., M.P.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 16, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I very much appreciate the honour that you have conferred upon me in extending an invitation to address such a representative and influential body of citizens of the Province of Ontario. It is, indeed, a rich and handsome compliment to myself, and to the people whom I represent in my constituency, to be honoured with an invitation to address the Empire Club, especially at this particular time when the Empire is so absorbed and so devoted in the great cause of liberty, freedom and justice that the Empire has always stood for.

Gentlemen, I have some matter which I have prepared and I would like to have it go out exactly as it is prepared, because it is a matter of importance for the people, I think, throughout the whole of the country to read. I have never had recourse very much to reading anything, but I thought on this particular occasion I would do so, which will only take about four minutes of your time, and then I shall hasten right on and let you away :

The sound economic war policy is increased production in order to repair the wastage of war.

To wage war successfully we must have money and supplies and these can only come from production.

Therefore a patriotic obligation rests upon the great agricultural industry to raise greater field crops and rear more food animals. The monetary returns to the former, while perhaps secondary in importance, are by no means insignificant.

The country whose agricultural industry can be kept up to the maximum of production in war time is the one whose armies can remain in the field the longest. While the old maxim "An army marches on its belly" has been made to read in these days of motor transport "An army marches on its gasoline," yet the old maxim is still true. Not only must production be increased to supply the millions of men under arms, and therefore withdrawn from productive labour; but it is out of the agricultural resources of the country that the nation is enabled to pay the war debts that have had to be contracted, not only for military efficiency, but for food supply also, a great factor in the struggle now being waged.

Ontario has set herself resolutely to bear a share of the burden so cheerfully and unhesitatingly assumed by Canada in this struggle against tyranny, and for the preservation of that marvellous instrument of freedom and enlightenment, the British Empire. Not only is she giving her sons, but she is contributing to the food supply of the Mother Country and her allies. The donation of 250,000 bags of Canadian flour to the Motherland, the contribution of carloads of apples for the British fleet, and for Belgian relief, are but an earnest of what this Province will do. Her farmers responded heartily to the appeal of the Minister of Agriculture to plow more land this fall, to break up more pastures and sow an increased acreage of fall wheat. We are a mixed-farming province. Our live stock investment exceeds $238,000,000—and so we are not rated among the grain growing provinces. But our annual production of wheat totals some twenty-seven million bushels, an increase of seven million over 1914, which could easily be increased to thirty-five million bushels. Our live stock supply in Canada amounts to one sheep and three cattle to every four of population, and two swine to every five.

In Australia for instance, there are seventeen sheep and three cattle, and in New Zealand twenty-two sheep and two cattle per head of population.

As a matter of fact our agricultural production has not kept pace with the rapid growth of the country and, consequently, greatly increased requirements of the population. Manufacturing has more than doubled in the past dozen years. Horses have increased in number 50 per cent and food animals 20 per cent.

Consequently we have imported much to meet the demand of our consumers. We must produce more and import less. A nation in order to pay its debt must export more than it imports. If the imports exceed the exports, the balance of trade must be met by payments in gold or by borrowings. London is the money market of the world, and under the conditions that now prevail it is not expedient to pay out gold or loan money in Canada as freely as was formerly the case. In the last nine months we have reduced the balance of trade against us by $80,000,000. Increased production is the only way to strengthen the national financial condition. Through the District Representatives of the Ontario Department of Agriculture located in the various counties of Ontario, the former have become a mighty organization, brought together by the common desire to increase production, to adopt better methods in doing so by eliminating waste and increasing efficiency. In this struggle Canada's position as one of the great storehouses of the Empire must be maintained. Not only the successful prosecution of this war but the future prosperity of Canada after the war largely depend upon the farmer.

It has been estimated that in recent years American travellers have spent $4,000,000,000 annually in touring Europe. Many parts of the old world have derived probably the bulk of their revenue from this source. This year Europe is cut off as a pleasure resort, and though Americans may not have as much money as usual to spend, they are likely to spend a great deal in exploring North America.

It so happens that the temporary withdrawal of Europe's attractions falls in the hundredth year of peace between the British Empire and the United States. For this reason alone Americans may be inclined to visit this part of the Empire. In addition there is the fact that great tracts of Canada form a natural playground and summer resort for an entire continent.

For tourist and fisherman, and hunter, few lands compare with Thunder Bay. We can offer a wide variety of water places on river and lake. Our fresh water fishing compares with any in the world. Nowhere else are the bass and trout so game as in our northern latitudes. We have myriads of lakes beside which to camp, river-threaded forests to explore, and whole series of Alpine mountain chains to climb.

Mr. President and gentlemen, we are living at a time when we ought to know something of the great Empire of which we form a part. It is a great thing to be a British subject and it is a greater thing to-day to be a British subject than it ever was before in the history of the world. May I remind you, Mr. President and gentlemen, that one person out of every four upon the earth is a British subject. May I remind you that twelve million Australians and Canadians occupy one-eighth of the whole earth. May I remind you, gentlemen, that if the British Empire were cut in strips a mile wide it would reach four hundred times around the world. Ontario is larger than Germany, France and Belgium combined. We have 150 languages spoken in the British Empire. Two thousand years ago, sir, St. Paul boasted of his freeborn citizenship, how much more can we as British subjects boast of the great British Empire of which we form a part. Canada is the gem and the flower of all the overseas dominions. And we have been living here contentedly and quietly as a peaceable people engaged in our industrial, commercial, agricultural pursuits without any interruption. But let me remind you, also, that war is a great searcher of character and a great tester of citizenship. And if there ever was a time in the history of the world when

Canada should do her part it is at the present time, and she is doing it well. When I looked into the faces of the eighteen thousand soldiers who were marching past the Parliament Buildings the other day, I saw the security of the present and the assurances of the future. It is just as easy, Mr. President, to love one's country as it is to love one's mother. It was taught us from the days when we clung around our mothers' knees in early infancy, learning to lisp our evening prayer, the very microbe of patriotism and loyalty and devotion was then created and developed and the cornerstone of citizenship was laid; and hence we have no more loyal people in the world to-day than the Canadian people towards the great British Empire of which we form a part. I also want to say that a nation whose men will not fight will soon pass away from the roll of nations, and it will be governed by foreigners: but I am glad to say that in Canada, Canadians are setting forth every effort to have a part in the development and the government of their country.

I am glad, sir, that I live in a country and under a constitution where the rose smells just as sweet in the humble cottage of the peasant as it does in the marble palace of the king. I am glad that I live in a country and under a constitution where the humblest citizen can take his little boy and girl and place them upon his knee and say to them : "Johnnie," or "Mary," the avenues of distinction are wide open to you ; all you need to do is to be honourable, high-minded and have high ideals." High ideals are the seeds and character is the harvest. The question is asked : What are we going to do if all the soldiers go to war ? We have thirty-six thousand boys, capable chaps, attending the high school and collegiate institutes of the Province of Ontario, and at the present moment the Ministers in our Ontario Government are now trying to solve this difficulty of encouraging enlisting, to secure the co-operation of fifteen thousand boys to go out from the schools and go up on the farms and help the farmers.

I also wish to say that an order has come, I understand, direct from Ottawa, that the soldiers in Toronto, some ten thousand or fifteen thousand, if needs be throughout the Province, will be sent off on a furlough during the seeding time ; they will be paid a dollar and ten cents a day and they will go home and help to put in the crops, so that Ontario may develop and go on in her usual way. In the fourth year of the American War states like Massachusetts and several others of those wealthy states produced more in the fourth year than they did in the beginning of the war the first year. Because the boys were engaged, the girls were engaged, the women were engaged, and the result was that everybody put his hand to the plow, and he never turned back until he reached the end of the furrow. And I believe in the Province of Ontario that is our position to-day.

Just here I want to read to you a little phrase that was penned at the bottom of a letter from a young chap, who is now in the trenches, to his mother, to show you how patriotic, and how enthused our youths are to do something for the country. This young Scotchman writes home to his mother in Toronto, closing his letter with this verse :

"There is a piper playing in the morning
An old Scotch tune sa fine ;
There is a tartan plaidie,
On each heilen laddie
Just like old Lang Syne
And we hear him praising
Bonnie Scotland and Bonnie Scotland's fame
So cheer up, dearie ; it's alright here
It's just like being hame."

That is one of the ideas and one of the positions in which we stand in relation to our boys who are at the front. A country that is good enough to prosper in is good enough to give your heart to and, if needs be, give your life. And I do not think in the whole British Empire that there is any part of it that is superior or excels the Dominion of Canada and particularly the Province of Ontario. We are a home loving people, a liberty loving people, contented, happy and prosperous and in proportion to our numbers we have more money in the Dominion Savings banks and in the savings banks of the Province than any other people, per capita, in the British Empire. That of itself is important. They say, "Where are you going to get your money?" Why, Canada is full of money from one end to the other and we are prepared to give all the money we have, and the last man we have, in order to save the old Union Jack. Wherever it is unfurled there is power, there is liberty, there is freedom, there is Christianity and fair play to all citizens whether he may come from Merry England, romantic Scotland, the green fields of Ireland, sunny Italy or France or India, the moment he places his feet upon Canadian soil, he can fold his arms in the blanket of satisfaction and look up into the sunshine and thank God that he is in the presence of the unquenched and unquenchable fire of British liberty.

No country has so much to offer her boys and girls as Canada has to offer. No country has so much with her wide and spreading fields, with her ninety millions of acres of prairie land whose bosom has never been tickled by a plow, and whose heart and arms are open wide to welcome the newcomer, no matter what his nationality or colour is. I say, that no country in the world has so much to offer her boys and her girls. We ought to be very proud indeed to feel that we are Canadians. We are very much honoured in the old land. Those of you who have visited London and visited Scotland and Ireland, or any part of Britain, while on the top of the busses tell them you are a Canadian and the very moment you mention the word the hand of welcome goes out and the heart of sympathy towards our country is immediately opened.

Now, regarding the navy. It is a wonderful thing for the Empire to have this British navy. If it were not for the navy to-day, where would we be? Three hundred thousand loyal fellows riding on the billows of the seven seas day and night, with their eyes and their ears and hearts open, patiently helping to save the old Union Jack and the great British Empire. I say again that St. Paul boasted of his citizenship two thousand years ago ; we read of the Persian Empire, of the Grecian Empire and the Roman Empire—which could not compare for a moment with the grandeur and beauty and wealth and the intellect and the influence of the great Empire of which we form an important part. The navy, I say, these men are there night and day watching for us, living for you and ready to die for you. It is what you might call vicarious suffering, almost as deeply rooted as the vicarious suffering of our Saviour, who died that man might be saved. But, sir, if it were not for that navy I doubt to-day that we would occupy the position which we do.

I am not going to make any prophecies; but there are thirteen nations engaged in this war, and for my part and for the life of me I do not see how it is possible for the German Emperor to win, and he will not win. He shall not win because he has not right upon his side. If there was ever a murderer let loose upon the world it is the Kaiser of Germany and he will rue the day that he began this war. And I see that Harden, the man that made all German statesmen sit and look around, is advocating in his articles that they sue for peace because their agricultural, their industrial, their bank and financial systems are being ruined, depleted and absolutely put out of business. And what does that mean ? It simply means, sir, that Germany must fall.

I heard an address yesterday, where I spoke to three thousand people in Simcoe, by Dr. Aikens of the Metropolitan Church, and he proved conclusively by the Bible that this war must be won and will be won by the Allies. He proved conclusively that it was necessary to have small nations, and Germany's designs and desires are that they absorb those nations. We owe a great debt of gratitude to Belgium. She saved the day, and we must never forget Belgium and her patriotism and her wonderful devotion and loyalty to the compact that existed between Great Britain and Belgium.

Oh, it is a wonderful thing, gentlemen, to belong to the Empire.

It stands for so much, it means so much ; it is so extensive and far reaching that one cannot find words to clothe his thoughts and to give beauty, to the grandeur and the nobility of being a British subject.

There is but one task for all,
For each one life to give ;
Who stands if freedom fall,
Who dies if Britain lives ?

A hearty vote of thanks was passed

THE DUTY OF CANADA AND HER SONS TO THE EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY LT.-COL. MULLOY

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 23, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I wish to thank you, sir, for the kindly expressions to which you have given utterance, and I wish to thank the Club and to express my sincere appreciation of the honour conferred upon me in asking me to address you.

If I might begin my talk, Mr. President, with a little story it would save me an introduction and perhaps save time. In the early period of our history in this country, before society was as well organized as it is at the present time, and in particular, before educational facilities were as plentiful and as generous as at present, there was a certain minister of the gospel whose education did not quite equal his ambition, and who, anxious to improve his vocabulary, possessed himself of one of the old fashioned vest pocket dictionaries of a non-pronouncing type and it was his wont to pick out a word which he wanted for his sermon, take a shot at the pronunciation and then, working it well into his next discourse, as we work a recruit until he is like the rest, it became part of his vocabulary. In this way he chose the word "phenomena," but the pronunciation he got was "feenameena." The following Sunday it was feenameena here and feenameena there. It was this, that and the other startling feenameena. Going home with one of the pioneer parishioners, the farmer asked him about it. "Oh," said the clergyman, "did you notice it ? Do you know the meaning of it ?" "Well," said the farmer, "I don't think I do." "Well now," said the reverend, "perhaps I can explain. You see that cow ? That is not a feenameena. Did you hear that lark singing up there ? That is not a feenameena. You see that thistle nestling in the grass ? Neither is that a feenameena. But, my dear brother, if that cow were to sit down on that thistle and sing like that lark, that would be a feenameena."

Now, having asked from Col. Stewart and obtained a bound volume of the speeches delivered to this Club last year, it struck me that it would be a phenomena if I could come up here and give anything very informing to men whose minds had been inundated, not to say devastated, by such a vast amount of knowledge concerning the war—lectures on Germany, on Austria, on France, on Belgium, in fact, it seems to me the only thing left me was a lecture on Portuguese or Africa.

However, when I could not choose a subject concerning the war directly, I chose one dealing with one of the problems arising out of the war and which confronts the Canadian people at the present time : The subject, "Democracy and the Volunteer System."

We are depending to-day, gentlemen, upon the volunteer system to furnish us with a weapon wherewith to meet our enemies in the field, wherewith to vindicate out national honour and uphold the splendid traditions of our race ; a weapon with which we hope to fight for posterity, to produce, perhaps, the saddest page of Canadian history. After eighteen months of dependence upon this system, ordinary business insight suggests that we look it over carefully in the light of the results it has already achieved and in order to discover if it be the best system for us to continue to employ. Is the volunteer system best suited to us ? Is it economical ? Does it, in other words, with the minimum of expense, of energy and of business derangement, does it give us the maximum of results ? And in the burden which it brings to us, does that system distribute the burden over the various sections of the people in accordance with democratic principles.

These are questions, Mr. President, which to-day are being asked by ten thousands of Canadians, both in and out of the King's uniform.

Before answering these questions, I should like to say a few words on the phenomena of war itself. War has always been a subject of absorbing interest to the student, to the philanthropist, to the humanitarian, to the political scientist, and, generally, the student of world welfare. Is war a good thing ? Is it an evil thing ? Is it a mixture of both. From time immemorial men have divided themselves upon this question. But while there is a great borderland of opinion, we can, roughly speaking, classify the various writers and debaters in history and their attitudes on this subject ; we can group them into three schools of thought : The militarist, the moderate, and the pacificist. In other words, the two extreme and the moderate. The militarist view is best expounded by Lamont, a writer who lived and wrote just prior to the time of the great Napoleon, and by Von Bernhardi of modern notoriety. Lamont held, first, that war was a good thing in itself ; in itself a beneficent agency to the human race. That peace brought prosperity, luxury, idleness and immorality. That peace, in other words, set up a sort of gangrene in the body politic, and that war was the surgeon's knife cutting, exorcising the gangrenous part from the body part. Or, in the words of Bernhardi, which we all probably know : "War is an absolute necessity and since it is a form of national competition it is in the direct path of evolution and tends to the survival of that nation most fitted to survive." And is therefore, in Bernhardi's idea, a good thing in itself.

Now, I do not think that the views of that extreme school need detain us for a moment. I think even Lamont, or even Von Bernhardi, as he to-day surveys a stricken Europe, as he looks at Poland—where they say there is not a child living under eight years of age, because the weakest died first, and there have been two harvests ; as he looks at defiled Belgium—I think even a Bernhardi must modify his views that war is, in itself, good.

The next school is the moderate school and the school to which a great majority of men belong. This school holds that war is a great evil, bringing in its train a tremendous freight of human misery and woe and sadness.

But that great evil, as it is, it is not so great an evil as other expedients which might conceivably befall a nation, such as the loss of our liberties or the loss of any of those principles which we consider fundamental ones. However, the moderate school admits that war is a possibility and even a probability, and holds it to be the part of wise statesmanship to prepare for it, just as one would insure himself against an unwelcome or dreaded contingency. That is the moderate school.

The other school of thought is the pacificist. I am not so certain whether it can be called a school of thought. It will be better termed a type of mind, a type of mind that allows the reason to be led by the inclination, where the wish is father to the thought.

Now, the man who has reached the point where he does not allow the wish or inclination to conduct his reason, the man who can coolly weigh and accept the most unpalatable truth to himself is denounced as a long way off the road of mental development. For the man who cannot prevent his wish leading reason is sure to run foul of many of the pitfalls of error. I have always thought that the man mentioned in the scriptures : A fool considereth in his heart there is no God—was probably a man who felt if there were one and he got a square deal he would probably have a good time in the present world, that is, he was of a pacificist type of mind allowing the wish to be father of his thought. Now, this pacificist type of mind holds, or this pacificist school holds, that war is a relic of a barbarous and untutored age. That it is something in human society that must give way before the advance of thought. And that just as the advance oı civilization has abolished slavery as one of our institutions, so he holds or did hold, say, in July, 1914, that war, especially great wars, were a thing of the past. Another one of his tenets is that war is only made possible by preparing for it. The preparation for war is the only way by which war is possible ; the thought is suggestive that preparing to swim is preparation for death by drowning. Now, that is a pacificist thought.

In the autumn of 1913 I had a group of fifty-six cadets in the Royal Military College, boys, bright lads, between the ages of 17 and 21 who had been, so to speak, hand picked from the country from Halifax to Vancouver, and I appended one day to the end of a paper of history a question which, I told them, was a thought question. I gave them three options in the questions, my purpose in the question being two-fold : It was, first, to get a grade on the thought and initiative of each individual student. And secondly, to discover how far the chloroform of pacificism was affecting the mind of the rising generation. And here is the question with the three options which I asked. I said :

By what right do twelve million Canadians and Australians occupy one-eighth of the earth's surface while some one hundred and sixty million of their fellow humans are congested in the other seven-eights?

By what right do twelve million Canadians and Australians occupy one-eighth of the earth's surface ?

Or by what right do eight million Canadians occupy a territory equal to the continent of Europe, while some three hundred and fifty millions of Europeans, more highly organized than we are, are confined within the same area ? What right have we to this magnificent heritage, which is just as rich as Europe in natural resources ?

And the third part was this—Germany was even looming in the horizon :

By what right do eight millions of Canadians hold down such enormous territory and sixty-five millions of Germans must be kept within an area less than the Province of British Columbia ?

Now, the boys were practically unanimous in deciding the second option : By what right do eight millions of Canadians occupy a territory equal to the Continent of Europe while some three hundred and fifty millions of Europeans, more highly organized than we are, are confined within the same area ? What right have we to this magnificent heritage, which is just as rich as Europe in natural resources ? The most foolish answer I received was from a boy who said : Our right to this territory is because we are a superior people. You would be surprised, Mr. President, how much that answer lies in the back of the average man of this country. I have been practically recruiting for eight months and I have run up against it. And you will find any amount of men in this country who will tell you : No matter what happens, that somehow or other, whether we fight or whether we don't we are going to come out all right. History has only one verdict : A people who would not fight passes into the position of inferior races. That was that answer : Because we are a superior people. I held up that answer, without giving the boy's name. The answer brought down the ridicule of the class. That boy, I am glad to say ; with slightly modified ideas, I hope, is doing his bit in Flanders.

Another small group of answers was to the effect that our right to this territory was the right of first comers, and I held that up for criticism. And some boy at once said that we were not the first comers. The first came from France. Before the French came the North American Indians and before them the mound builders and, goodness knows, who before them. And history does not hold out any hope that even although you were the first comers that that is a valid right to territory. The largest group of answers practically agreed on this point, that our best right to our territory was the right of international consent.

Now, this was in time of peace. I said, "That looks a good answer ; what is the matter with it ?"

It was not long before one boy said, "Well sir, international consent is only good so long as they consent." International consent does not apply when diplomatic relations are broken off. And as we can see, as the boy pointed out then, international consent don't save Poland to the Poles ; Korea to the Koreans ; New Mexico to the Mexicians, and it will not save Mexico to-morrow to the Mexicans, and it will not save Belgium to the Belgians until we can mobilize superior physical forces. But there was one lad who gave an answer which would seem to defy criticism. And he said : "Our right to our territory, in case a challenge comes, lies in our ability to defend it against all comers." That lad a month after the war began enlisted as a subaltern in one of the British line regiments and gave his life in support of that answer at the battle of Neuve Chapelle. And his answer was right ! Do not misunderstand me—I am not saying that might is right, but I do say, and I say it after deliberation, that right must constantly be backed up by the shadows of might ; with the shadow of force and occasionally they must be supported by force itself. In fact, the average man leans more in the shadow of force than most of us are aware. We are all particularly prompt in paying our taxes. Not that we are such a particularly prompt people—I do not know about you but I know for me if I do not pay my taxes I have a vision of the sheriff taking forcible possession of my goods and chattels. And take it in the case of the law ; the whole volume of the law would be mere waste verbiage, if we could not see in the background the picture of the police court, the judge, the jury and constable and in the last resort, the army. This is true in our national life, in our international affairs. You may study the questions from whatever angle you will and as profoundly as you may and I think you will inevitably be driven to the same conclusion, that given human nature and fraternal relations as situate in the beginning of the twentieth century and a nation's right to its territory is ultimately, or in the last analysis, grounded in physical force. The present war is a case in point. From the very moment that the German purpose was unmasked we recognized in it a challenge to the sovereignty of every square foot of British soil, no matter how remote, and we also recognize in it a like challenge to these priceless democratic principles, rights and liberties which our fathers won for us through centuries of political agitation; and many of which were actually forged in the heat and hammered out on the anvil of civil war itself. We recognize a challenge, and so we are committed to this war and must pursue it with all its horrid details to a victorious end or, in the alternative, be cast from the roll of sovereign people, and have our activities and our destinies regulated and directed from without by a stronger race. We prefer war to that! And so, no matter what the sacrifice, we prefer war to that alternative. And so we are fighting, and fighting we must win or die as a free people. There is our position.

Now, sirs, if I have carried you with me thus far it follows that we are in self-preservation and in duty bound to raise an army ; not only bound to raise an army but bound to raise the largest and most effective army which is compatible, I will say, with our ability to maintain it in the field at our own expense and keep it supplied with recruits. That is, we are in duty bound to raise an army and, raising that army, we must keep one eye on the fighting power of the nation and one eye on the wealth-producing part of the nation, and neither must be allowed to suffer. Not only must we raise such an army but we must place the burden, as we are a domocracy, we must raise that army in such a way that the burden of it is evenly and equitably distributed among the people in proportion with their ability to pay.

Now, does the volunteer system do this ? I do not think that its most ardent advocate will claim it does. For, in the first place, you cannot raise a large army with a volunteer system. And if you had it raised, you would not be certain of a steady stream of recruits. And in the second place, so far as the direct burden being equitably distributed, it is not distributed at all. It is simply laid down there *en masse* before the whole people and each person can take what he wills of it, much, little or none at all. That is the volunteer system. Now, an apologist for the volunteer system will tell you in the suavest manner possible, as a man told me, not a long time ago: That after all, don't you know, the volunteer system is peculiarly adapted to the spirit of our free institutions. And I asked him what he meant and he did not know. He used euphemistic phraseology: "Peculiarly adapted to the spirit of our free institutions." If he meant, as I told him, that our people objected to any form of compulsory action then why not, to be consistent, do away will all compulsory action. If we must burn incense before this fetish of voluntary action, why not have the consistency to go the whole road and collect our taxes, pay our legislators, our judges and our civil servants by means of volunteer subscriptions. To be consistent, if our people so object to compulsory action. But that apology, as you see, will not hold water.

Another apologist says: While this voluntary system, you know, was handed down to us from holy antiquity. It is the system which served our fathers in the various crises through which they passed and it is good enough for them and it is good enough for us. Unfortunately—for that opinion is widely held—it does not coincide with historical fact. The British system up until the close of the Napoleonic struggle always was, and always has been the system of the military levy, the compulsory military levy, each county, town, parish, village, it will furnish its quota of military men. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century, with the exception of a few corps of garrison, that such a thing as the volunteer corps existed in Great Britain. In 1757, a year after the outbreak of the Seven Years' war, government unpreparedness was so marked on the one hand and popular fear of invasion was great on the other, that we have born this child of fear and weakness, the volunteer system. And the British Government had to pass an Act in 1757 regularizing and recognizing the so-called volunteer corps. But remember the system of the local levy, or policy, did not last—the volunteer system was simply superimposed or accepted as an adjunct. In fact, if you look into history you will find that in the history of no nation has the volunteer system ever proven equal to the test of a really great war. To my knowledge there are only two wars in British history in which the draft was not used. Those two wars were the Crimean war and the Boer War. In the Napoleonic system, as I intimated, Britain has to use the draft ; in fact, in 1812 we used the draft in Canada. In that sanguinary struggle known as the American Civil war, both the North and the South were compelled to admit that the volunteer system could not be depended upon for a national army in a time of real crisis. And to-day, after one of the most magnificent responses that has ever been made in history to a call for volunteers, Great Britain has had to fall back on the compulsory levy or conscription.

So there I make my first point against the volunteer system. It is inefficient ; it is uncertain, and it is unequal to the strain of a really great war.

But there is another, a more serious charge which, to my mind, can be laid at its door. That is, a more serious charge when it is considered by free people or by a democracy. The essence of democracy is equality ; that is, equality in the eye of the State, from the standpoint of the State. The state gives to all equal protection, equal opportunity and equal justice. The citizen in his turn accepts and assumes the responsibility of maintaining the state in peace and defending it in time of war. And that last is true of every state that the world has ever produced, from ancient Egypt and Babylon to the most modern or latest state which is created. The citizen in assuming citizen rights, *ipso facto*, assumes citizen's responsibilities. And there is no so-called conscientious objection which invalidates this unwritten point, which underlies the reciprocal relation between all states and their citizens. Whatever the State gives to the citizen, more or less right, the citizen always assumes responsibility for maintaining its peace and defending it in war. This basic principle of equality, I said, was true of the democratic state. If I can go to the Minister of Finance to-morrow and prove to him that a certain schedule of the tariff works a genuine hardship upon a certain section of the Canadian people, I have established a bona fide case for the redrafting of the schedule; if I can point out to our legislature that a law we had upon the Statute books works discriminatory or works an injustice to a most insignificant minority of the most humble citizens, I have established a case for the rescinding and re-drafting of that Statute.

Now, gentlemen, if this equality be true in the administration of justice, if it be true in the levy of taxation for the maintenance of the State in time of peace, that is, the levying of taxation, the collection of dollars and cents to keep up the State—should it not be even more true when the levy is in blood, when the toll collected is in disability, bereavement and death. To repeat it : If it is a democratic principle that in the administration of justice, in the collection of taxes, the burden be evenly and equitably distributed upon all sections of the people, according to their power to bear it, is it not even truer democracy that in a life and death struggle for the existence of the state itself, the men for that struggle should be drawn with the same due regard to the proportionate bearing of the burden ?

And that is the second point which I make against the volunteer system. So far from being adopted to the spirit of free institutions, it is antagonistic ; that is, it is undemocratic, not only inefficient but undemocratic.

Look at the volunteer system just for a moment from the standpoint of business. And it is hardly necessary for me to come to Toronto to tell you anything on that heading. One of your Toronto dailies yesterday carried an advertisement for something like 127 skilled mechanics. Consider the tens of thousands of men that have been recruited, and are being recruited to-day from our agricultural, from our factories, from our metal and from our other industries, and consider the equal number of slackers who adorn our street corners, our pool rooms, our picture shows and who refuse to answer the call. Now, the State owes something to this latter class. Here is where the weakness of this system comes in ; that when you step out on the platform as I have had to do for eight months and call upon men to come forward, that the State wants them, the State is depending upon them, they are the last ditch of the State's defence—the class of men who hear that call is the man that already has a disciplined mind. He is the man that needs army training the least in a community. And the man who does not hear the call is the man to whom the regular life and habits, the discipline, the power of self-control and the power of concentration which he would obtain in the army service would be an inestimable boon to him. That is how it happens that your call reaches the men whom we can least afford to lose and falls on deaf ears in the case of the men who would be most beneficially served by serving in the army. In fact, as I look over the situation I remember an incident which came to my knowledge not very long ago, and I felt some responsibility for it too. I had a meeting in a country district. And there was a farmer there, a man about thirty-seven or thirty-eight years of age, a husky, free man of the soil with five children and he felt the call and he came. And he made preparations to rent his little farm and t9 find a place of abode for his wife and children, and he is serving in the ranks to-day. And one of that man's nearest neighbours has four sons, a little bit of a farm that can't employ them, and three of those boys are eligible, and not one of them has heard the call. And that is happening all over Canada. And I can quite sympathize with Baron Shaughnessy in his appeal on behalf of the industries of this country ;

though I do not quite agree with him in its application. I do not say stop recruiting but I would, if I had the power, stop this system of recruiting which is so wasteful of our business and of our economic energy.

There is just one more point against this system and I am through. I have tried to show to you that the system is inefficient, unreliable and could not stand the strain of a great war ; that it is inequitable and undemocratic and that it is thoroughly wasteful of our national energy. To me, also, the system lacks dignity and smacks of insincerity, if not of moral weakness. Let me explain. The very essence, the essential conditions of free will offering is freedom to refuse, is it not ? And freedom to refuse without incurring odium. If you stand upon a dock in the summer and a child falls into the water accidentally, and you have a wife and children you incur no moral obligation if you think of the wife and children, if you are but an indifferent swimmer, it is a matter of volunteering. I say voluntary or free-will giving is one of the conditions or his freedom to refuse. Now then, so long as Canada by her attitude implies that each citizen is free to adopt whatever attitude he believes towards this war, so long I maintain, Mr. President, does that attitude of Canada give a legal justification to the man who says, "It is none of my business." You follow me ! So long as Canada by her actions implies that each citizen is free to adopt what attitude he likes towards the war, so long that attitude will give a legal justification to the man who says, "It is no concern of mine." Let me give an illustration. A few days ago in one of our Canadian towns a returned invalided soldier, partly incapacitated for life, was acting as a recruiting sergeant and he accosted a young man who looked a likely recruit, with the object of enlisting him. That young man told the recruiting sergeant in so many words that he did not intend to enlist, he did not intend to serve until the State called him or the State compelled him to. And furthermore he thought that the man that did otherwise was a fool. What I meant, when I said this lacks dignity is this : That the man who stays at home—indeed, that callous loafer had what the Americans call, the horse-sense to put his finger on the weak spot of the whole situation. The man who stays at home to-day can turn to the representative who comes back disabled for life and say : "Why did you go on the venture ? You did not have to go." And I said it would add dignity to this thing if we made it—that sergeant fellow as I talked to him found that his country did not think this matter in which he had given up his best was of sufficient importance to make it the vital concern of the citizens.

Now, to put the thing in a nutshell : In this affair of undergoing hardship and fighting and bleeding and dying for the people of Canada, it is either a matter which concerns all the men of Canada or does not concern any. That is putting the thing briefly. That is the situation. Now, sir, I am proud, and I am sure we are all proud, to hear our legislatures and our members with one united voice proclaim to the world that we are in this struggle to the last dollar and the last boot strap, and I was going to say, of the last honourary colonel. There is not a legislature, provincial or federal ; there is not a paper, from those of our great dailies to that of the most obscure rural weekly—in fact, there is not a man on the street with a modicum of brains and insight that does not know that this volunteer system, in so far as efficiency goes is a make believe and that does not know that the first instalment of the compulsory method of conducting a national war is a classification of our industries and registrations of our man power. And who does not know also that the second step is democratic compulsion or compulsion from within. Look at our two mother countries, France and England. France since the beginning of this war has never faltered or flinched from any sacrifice however great. The great spirit of her great free democracy has inspired her sons to acts of the most exalted heroism.

With steady eyes they have marched unflinching into the maelstrom of death and poured out their blood like water on behalf of French freedom, French language and French ideals of civilization, in the full recognition that for months the British Empire, the inviolability of the Empire depended on French initiative and the valour of a French conscript army. Now the sturdy British people have got through faking and shamming. They have adopted conscription and hurried to the side of their chivalrous ally. Now then, with those two great democracies fighting side by side, shoulder to shoulder, in the great struggle for human freedom shall Canada, shall we who are the true offspring of these two giant parent stocks, shall we cower in fear before the name of national service. Shall we be afraid to adopt that system which is best suited to our democracy and to the needs of our present time? I think not. And I hope that we will soon, forthwith I would like to say, adopt that system. Have done with the sham, lay hold upon the real, and then we can go forward in the confidence and assurance that our united material effort will be added to the moral strength of our fathers.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

IMPERIAL REORGANIZATION

AN ADDRESS BY SIR JOHN WILLISON, LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 30, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I think I should say at the outset that I am not one of the pioneer advocates of federation. Indeed, I think twenty-five years ago that Mr. Clark and myself spoke on the same subject. I think at the time he was in favour of federation and I was against. But we all live, and some of us learn. He was wiser than I was on that subject and I was wiser than he was on some other subjects. So we call it an even divide at this stage of the contest.

I think we ought not to forget the pioneer federationists. I think we ought not to forget the Denisons, the McCarthys, the Grants and the Parkins, and those other men who saw the vision afar off and followed it with steadfast eyes and earnest hearts through all these years, whether the outlook was dark or bright, whether the skies were fair, or kind or unfriendly and reluctant.

I was not, I say, one of the pioneer advocates of imperial federation. And from the standpoint from which I regarded the question twenty-five years ago I think there were some arguments behind my position. I am not, and I never have been, contented with the colonial relations. I want a full citizenship in this country or some other country. I am not contented with the relation under which in all the imperial and foreign affairs of the Empire to which we belong I have no more voice and no more authority than has an American who lives at Washington. And I was an early advocate of Canadian independence.

It is said to be always a mistake to make an explanation but I make this explanation. I believe when the Duke of Marlborough was dying he said that he had once made a profound mistake ; he had once condescended to make an explanation. I was an early advocate of Canadian independence because under an independent Canada I would have a free and independent citizenship. Whether the country was a feeble one or otherwise it would be an independent country and I would have a full citizenship such as the Canadian never has had as yet in the Empire to which we belong. And it is because I am dissatisfied with the colonial connection in that regard and because I want to have a full citizenship in this Empire and because I think under federation the full citizenship is possible, a citizenship prouder than any other man in the modern world can possess. It is because I have come to see that such a full citizenship is possible that I became a good many years ago an advocate of Imperial federation.

The other day Mr. Fisher, former Prime Minister of Australia—a labour Prime Minister—came to London as High Commissioner for the Commonwealth. And at a meeting a few days after his arrival at London he said that as a pit boy in Scotland he had more authority in the British Empire in the realm of foreign affairs than he had as Prime Minister of Australia. These were his words, he said : "If I had stayed in Scotland I should have been able to heckle my member on Imperial policy. I went to Australia and have been Prime Minister but at all times I have had no say about Imperial policy." And he added, "That cannot go on. There must be some change." And during this month Mr. Hughes, also a labour leader of Australia and Prime Minister of Australia, has spoken in London. And I just want to quote two or three of the things that he has said. He has said exactly what Mr. Fisher said, exactly what Sir Robert Borden has said in other language ; exactly what Sir Wilfred Laurier said when he said : "Call us to your councils." He said : "The fact is that the whole concept of modern statesmanship needs revision. England has been and is the chief of sinners. Quite apart from the idea of a self-contained empire there is the idea of Britain as an organized nation and the British Empire as an organized Empire. Organized for trade, for industry, for economic justice, for national defence, for the preservation of the world's peace, for the protection of the weak against the strong." "That," he added, "is a noble idea ; it ought to be and it must be ours." And he continued on the same subject : "Let us resolutely, putting aside all consideration of party, class and doctrine, without delay, proceed to devise a policy for the British Empire, a policy which shall cover every phase of our national, economic and social life, which shall develop the tremendous resources and yet be compatible with this idea of liberty and justice for which our ancestors fought and died and for which the men of our race, in this the greatest of all wars, are fighting now and dying in a fashion worthy of their opportunity. Let us not any longer pursue a policy of drift but set sail upon a definite course as becomes a mighty nation to whom has been entrusted the destiny of one-fourth of the whole human race."

Now, these quotations from Mr. Fisher and Mr. Hughes at least demonstrate that Australia—not a Tory ridden community, but the most democratic country on the face of the earth—that its people have determined that the present organization of the Empire is unsatisfactory, that it must be reorganized ; that it must be a centre virtually ; that those living in the dominions must have an equal voice in the foreign affairs of the Empire, and that the man who lives in Toronto or Cape Town or Sydney or Melbourne must feel that he holds a citizenship equal to the man who lives in London or Glasgow, and equal to that which any other independent citizen possess in any other country.

Now, during all the years that Imperial federation has been discussed, its advocates have been met with this one objection : Give us a plan complete in every detail. And it has been assumed that if the advocate of federation fails to give a plan complete in every detail, therefore the whole project falls to the ground. I deny that the advocate of federation is under any obligation to give a plan complete in every detail. Indeed, it would be unwise and stupid to do so. And I will tell you why.

When we set about the organization of this Confederation, if the representatives of the various provinces had gone to the Quebec conference each with a plan complete in every detail, it is doubtful if a solution ever would have been reached or if Confederation would ever have been accomplished. Because the time, the energy, of the representatives of this province would have been dissipated, not in finding a plan but in destroying definite plans which were submitted for their consideration. When the delegates from the Maritime Provinces met at Charlottetown to consider the union of the Maritime Provinces no one went there with a plan. They went there in the hope of finding a plan. And when it was suggested that the delegates from Upper and Lower Canada should be admitted to the conference at Charlottetown and that consideration should be given to the wider project of the union of the Canadian provinces, again no one went there with a plan ; no plan was suggested. The one point upon which all arguments and all appeal was centred was that there was in the Canadian Provinces a public sentiment powerful enough to support a union of these provinces and that a conference should be called with the definite idea of finding a plan of confederation and settling the details of a Canadian constitution. And in all speeches that were made during that remarkable pilgrimage at St. John, Halifax, Fredericton, Quebec, Ottawa, Montreal, Kingston and Toronto, in all those meetings addressed by the statesmen of the various provinces, there is no single reference to a plan of union. The whole argument, as I have said, centres upon the necessity for union and the advantages of union and upon the argument for a conference in order to find a plan of Confederation. It was so in Australia ; it was so in South Africa. And while I have no desire to raise a controversial question—certainly not in a controversial fashion—I am convinced that if ever Ireland agrees upon the provisions of a provincial constitution, and if ever a legislature is established at Dublin, it will be as the result of a conference between North and South, where the representatives of the North and South of Ireland meet and agree upon the provisions of constitution under which Ireland may become happy, healthy and united. No sudden result will ever be achieved by the attempt to impose a constitution from without, or by political concessions either to North or South from outside.

Now, who would have thought that a few years after the war in South Africa it would have been possible for Dutch and English to meet together in conference and report the provisions of a constitution which has stood even the tremendous time through which we are now passing. And of all the amazing things that have come out of this war, the miracle of British history through all the generations, is South Africa.

It is said that we would restore the authority of Downing Street in Canada ; that we would have a feeble representation in an Imperial parliament ; that we would be out-voted by the Mother country ; that we would be subjected to unequal and inordinate taxation for Imperial objects and projects and that we would sacrifice the fact of self-government for the shadow of substance in Imperial organization.

Well, we ought to be familiar with all these arguments. If you will go through the old pamphlets produced at the time of Confederation, if you will read the debates in the legislative council and legislative assembly and if you will read the literature of the opponents of Confederation in Canada, you will find in detail and in many fashions all the arguments proving Canadian confederation impossible which are now advanced to prove that Imperial Federation is impossible.

It was said that these smaller provinces would lose their independence and individuality; they would be submerged in a federal parliament; that the local institutions of Quebec would be destroyed and the French language suppressed by an English majority. And that in the conflict of sectional rivalries and jealousies government in Canada would become impracticable and impossible.

Well, what is the result? This Confederation is nearly 50 years old. During the period of Union we have had eight Prime Ministers; three belong to Ontario, two belong to the Province of Quebec—one a brilliant representative of the French minority that was to be destroyed and suppressed—and three come from the small province of Nova Scotia. The group of Maritime Provinces, through the character of their representatives in the Parliament at Ottawa, have had an authority in this Confederation out of all proportion to their numerical strength. And I undertake to say that a great balance of the political power of Canada has been exercised by the communities east of the Ottawa River ever since this Confederation was organized. I hope the time will come, and come soon, when we will have a Prime Minister from the West at Ottawa, and I think of nothing that would add more greatly to the unity and stability of the Confederation. And I am very certain that when that time does come, that we in these older provinces will welcome rather than regret the appearance of a western Prime Minister, even if it does suggest the still further transfer of political power from Ontario. We always ought to remember—it is the very genius of the system—that the supreme object of a federal system, necessarily, is to unify, not to destroy. And it is inevitable—I think it is demonstrated by all federal history—that under such a system the smaller communities have more than their fair share of political power, because the stronger communities feel their strength. They are actuated by a peculiar regard for the smaller communities and the racial minorities. And no federal system will permit or can wisely permit, any injustice to be perpetrated upon a minor province or smaller community.

It will be evident from what I have said thus far that I would not be content with any system of Under Secretaries in an Imperial council or an Imperial parliament. Nor would I be satisfied with an Imperial council or Imperial conference. I want, so far as I am concerned, an organic union of the British communities under which the outlying dominions will have an actual voice according to their strength in population and in resources. But to go further than that, and to suggest all the details or to endeavour to forecast just what would be or should be the actual provisions of an Imperial constitution would be unwise to the last degree. Because I argue that you never can develop the details of federation or of an Imperial constitution until the statesmen of the Empire from Canada and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and from the Mother country meet around a common table, consider all the conditions of the problem, consider what is possible and what is not possible, and agree upon the provisions of a constitution which will be satisfactory to the various portions of the Empire, and which, if it at once does not go the whole length, will go much further than we have gone and, providing that it works satisfactorily, will guarantee that the ultimate steps will be taken in the future.

Now, I know it is true—we are told so very often that Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper opposed Imperial federation. They opposed a good many things that they would not oppose to-day. And to have suggested federation in Great Britain thirty years ago would have been regarded as absolutely visionary. And yet there is no doubt at all that in the Mother Country to-day they are only waiting for the dominions to act. They are ready to provide an Imperial Constitution ; give us any authority in the Empire that we may seek, reasonably and fairly ; feeling, however, that the movement must proceed from the dominions ; it must come from the outside and not from the inside. Because inevitably if the British statesmen at home endeavour to lead this movement, the suspicion would arise, as the critics say, that it was an endeavour to restore Downing Street and to centralize authority at London. And, therefore, I rejoice that the statesmen of Australia to-day have become practically the leaders of the Imperial movement in the Empire. And at their side at once, in my mind, ought to be ranged the statesmen of Canada. Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, and those who took the view which they took in their day, argued against possibilities which have become practical and absolute facts. If you will look back to what those two statesmen said on the subject of Imperial federation, their great objection—indeed, their whole objection—was that we would be obliged to contribute to the defence of the Empire. And yet to-day we have near three hundred thousand troops under arms and we have spent $200,000,000 for the common defence of the Empire. And Sir Charles Tupper lived to urge intervention in South Africa and to appeal to Canada to give her whole assistance in the prosecution of the great war in which we are engaged. And who doubts, whether he be Liberal or Conservative, what would be the attitude of Sir John Macdonald if he lived to-day. Or what would be his attitude if he saw, as he did not see in his time, the prospect of an organic union of the Empire.

It has been finally demonstrated that the people of Canada will bear a full share of the Imperial burden. No government that would resist Imperial sentiment could survive for a week. If we had failed to assist in this war we would have been sunk in self-contempt and have shrivelled between the contempt of other nations. Who would have suggested that in time of peace we can sing "God Save the King" and boast of our British citizenship and send our trade across the seas under the protection of the British navy and do nothing in time of war ? And the fact that because of the strength of sentiment which prevails throughout this Dominion these things have to be done, we have assumed the burdens, all the burdens that can come with Imperial federation but as yet we have not obtained authority which Imperial federation would give to us. It is said that under federation we would sacrifice Canadian autonomy. The great truth is, as I have tried to show, that under the existing organization of the Empire we have an inferior citizenship and imcomplete autonomy. We talk much about self government. We have never had self government. And I want federation of the Empire because I want self government, complete self government, as much self government as the citizen of any other country enjoys.

What would have been the position if the issues out of which this war came, if the causes which led to this war, which led Great Britain to embark in this war, had been a cause of which Canada could not approve. We are sending hundreds and thousands of soldiers to the war, as I have said, and spending hundreds of millions of money and yet we have no more voice in the making of this war than has the State of New York. And what would have been the position—it is not the fault of anyone ; it is a condition of the accidental and haphazard growth of this curious political organization to which we belong. But suppose this had been a war which failed to carry the judgment of the Canadian poeple, what would be our position to-day? Could we—think it over, think it over—could we have remained outside the war and remained inside the British Empire ? I say emphatically no. And if that be true and we desire and intend to remain within the Empire we must have a political organization which will give us a right to say whether war shall come or whether peace. I do not believe that the British Empire should engage in any war which would not have the approval of the dominions. And I am confident that the interest of the dominions will always be peace, and that the power of the British Empire to preserve peace in Europe and in the world would be enormously enhanced under an organic union of British communities. With how much greater authority Sir Edward Grey could have spoken in the councils of Europe before the war if the world had understood that he spoke not only for Great Britain but for Canada and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa and India. I believe the moral assurance that the British Empire represented a group of world communities, the moral assurance of peace which that very fact would give, would be far greater than any physical power which these communities possess. We know now, once and for all, that when Great Britain is attacked Canada is attacked. And when Canada is attacked Great Britain must come to Canada's defence. We are an Empire for offence and defence, whether we admit it or not, and since we must share the danger and bear the cost, why not regularize the Imperial relations and combine the energies and resources of this Empire for its own security, for its own strength and in order to enhance its powers to preserve peace and insure the welfare of others. A good many of the faults and prejudices which have been cherished for generations have been burned up in the fire of this war. What we thought were divine truths have proved to be very ordinary human speculations. We recognize now, or we will recognize the fact if we think it over, whatever were our theories and convictions a few years ago, that if this war had been avoided for another quarter of a century that Germany would have held the commercial supremacy of the earth and could have imposed an authority upon all other nations without a blow by land or sea, because her trade would have been so intertwined, so established in every community, so spread over the earth, that she would have, by strength of her commercial power, an authority in the world which I believe no other nation or any other combination of nations could challenge. The Chamber of Commerce of Great Britain a few years ago declared to the Premier, Mr. Asquith, that it was its firm conviction, based on the experience of the war, that the strength and safety of the Empire lies in ability to produce what it requires from its own soil and its own factories. And there is in the soil and factories, in the natural resources of the established industries of this Empire, all the material for a self-contained Empire. It is our fault if we don't use them for the benefit of the British people and for the strength of the organization to which we belong. Alike in trade and defence we require organized co-operation for common objects. Nor is it necessary, as opponents of federation contend, that we must have free trade or a common tariff. It is just as easy for every portion of the Empire to maintain its own tariff and to raise its living by what means seems good as it is to have a common tariff or cast-iron system of free trade. Because all theories that a system of federation necessarily destroys individuality in British communities, either in trade or in any other relation, will not stand examination in my judgment.

I remember in the conversation with Mr. Balfour—and it is not often I refer to my occasional and incidental relations with distinguished people—I remember discussing the question of tariff reform with Mr. Balfour. He said he saw great difficulties in tariff reform until he saw that it was as simple and natural for Great Britain to have its own tariff as it was for Canada to have its own tariff. And since the existing tariff of Canada in no wise disturbs the Imperial relationship it was wholly unreasonable to conclude that the imposition of a British tariff should in any greater degree disturb the relationship. If the thirteen colonies had not separated from Great Britain where now would be the centre of the British Empire? It would be at Washington and not at London.

A century is a short span in the life of a nation. This confederation is only 50 years old, and I suppose some of us—indeed I do—I remember the first anniversary of the organization of Canada. In half a century the population of the United States has increased by more than 50,000,000. Twenty-five or thirty years from now this Dominion will have a population of 25,000,000 or 30,000,000 and there will be at least 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 in the outlying dominions.

Who sincerely believes that with such a power reposing in the outer dominions that they will be in danger of subjugation by Downing Street or the centralizing agency in London? For my part, whatever we may argue to-day, whatever we may think is the immediate outlook, I am as certain as I live that there are forces at work in the British Empire which will compel federation before we are very much older. At Gallipoli and in France and Flanders we have illustrations of what British citizenship in the outer dominions will sacrifice for the common Empire, and when peace comes we will have a mighty reinforcement of imperialists and of federationists. That for which a man offers his life he will not easily forsake or betray. Those who return from Old World battlefields will be forever the supports of the Empire. And to quote a noble sentence: Who in the cause of country and freedom it pleases Almighty God to take out of this transitory world unto His mercy. What a prospect federation opens to Canada? We would send representatives to a sovereign Imperial parliament. We would have direct representation in an Imperial gathering. We would fill many positions in world-wide government and diplomatic services. We could co-operate for scientific distribution of population throughout the Empire. Through wise organizations labour exchanges could be established which would keep the British race under the flag. Production and transportation could be so developed as to insure an adequate food supply within the Empire. I know that much of this can be accomplished and is being accomplished without federation. But since under confederation the sovereignty of the dominions over their own domestic affairs would not be imperilled, while a possible conflict between national and imperial interests would be ended and an equal citizenship established throughout the Empire, to reject federation is to mock the gods and resist the decree of a beneficent destiny. Nothing is more remarkable in human history than the results that are achieved by long planning and resolute devotion to a single object. At worst, or at most, only a few men in the American colonies aimed at separation or designed to establish a republic. And these were not the most influential of American statesmen. But they had a divine object ; they were bold and active ; they had a genius for agitation, and they slept not night or day until the seed of their shrewd and furtive sowing ripened for the harvest of disunion and disruption. Unwilling to bear allegiance to the new order a group of men, broken in fortune but unquenched in spirit, active, vigilant and resolute came to Canada, and they and their descendants have been the bulwark of British institutions in this commonwealth. If they lost much they have also held it for throne and Empire. For it is true that through their vigilance and their courage in more than one crisis of Canadian history—British sentiment was decisively expressed and British supremacy decisively maintained. It is just as true in Canada the Imperial sentiment which now pervades the Empire was indeed largely developed, and we cannot avoid the responsibility if we would, and upon the perpetuation of this Imperial spirit in Canada depends the ultimate destiny of the British Empire. I am certain that as you weaken the Imperial sentiment of Canada you weaken the whole Imperial structure, and just so certain as Canada falls away, the dominions fall away and the Empire shrinks to two islands on the Atlantic. There was a time in England when the colonies were regarded as an encumbrance rather than as a source of strength and security. It was the British stock overseas kept the flame of Imperial patriotism burning and revived the spirit and the glory and possibility of Empire in England itself.

Under the Imperial system as now developed, guaranteeing equal political authority over national concerns to all portions of the Empire and inviting equal co-operation for any interests, the union between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies probably would have survived even all the blundering of narrow statesmen in England. If there had been no separation, as I say, the American to-day would hold a prouder citizenship than any other man in the modern world could possess. And what the American cast away, through causes which need not provoke enmities in this generation, the Canadian, the Australian, the New Zealander, the South African and people of the United Kingdom may have full well if they will hold together and understand that there is no necessary conflict between the interests of the dominions and those of the Mother country: but that in unity and cooperation there is a mighty power to advance all the good ends of civilization, and to insure that British ideals of freedom and justice shall flourish in eternal vigour over all the wide spaces of earth which acknowledge the King's sovereignty.

So I support with all my heart the resolution that has been submitted. I think we ought to keep in mind that great as the problem of this war the problem of reconstruction will be even greater. And chief among the works of reconstruction ought to be a reorganization of the British Empire and its settlement on foundations that will endure to the end of time.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE ISSUES OF THE WAR

ADDRESS BY MAJOR GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, D. LIT.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
April 8, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—You gentlemen of the Empire Club stand to me, for the time, as representatives of the great Dominion of Canada. I am here to give a word of greeting from my fellow citizens on the other side of the border line. I may not venture to speak for the United States as a whole for I have no credentials as an Ambassador; but I am expressing the opinion of hundreds of thousands, yes, of millions, of my fellow citizens in the United States who hold, as I hold, that in this great contest not only our sympathies, but our practical and direct cooperation should be given to England and to England's Allies.

The men of my group hold that England and her Allies are to-day fighting not only for their own existence and in fulfilment of their obligations, but in defence of the principles of civilization. They are fighting to defend democracy against the assaults of military autocracy, and they are fighting in defence of the liberties of the United States.

In coming among you here, I feel as if I were coming among kinsfolk. My father was the first American publisher to invade England, and I myself was born in London. It is one of the crimes charged against me by Germans and German sympathizers, that I am a "damned Briton." I am, however, none the less a Yankee because from my earliest years I have had sympathetic relations with London and with England. My forebears came to Plymouth in Massachusetts from Plymouth in England as far back as 1640, but that voyage of my ancestors did not break for me my ties with England. You are, most of you, familiar with that curious mixture of fog and soot and roast mutton that go to make up the atmosphere of London, the air that I breathed in during my first few years. Whenever I find myself again in London, and take another sniff of that wondrous combination, I feel at once at home. But for me, the incident of birth matured into a permanency of sympathetic relation. I was in London with my father in 1851 and I heard the address with which that great statesman, Prince Albert, opened the Exhibition. I doubt whether any of you distinctive citizens of this division of the British Empire had the privilege of being present at the opening of the Exposition of 1851. It was Albert's beautiful ideal that this Exposition would prove to be the forerunner of better understanding and of closer relations between the peoples of Europe. He took the ground that the governments of the world were steadily coming into the hands of the peoples themselves; and that when the people understood that there was a good deal greater advantage in selling goods to your neighbour than could be secured from devastating his territory, wars would come to an end. Prince Albert was doubtless right, but his dreams were too early for his day. They will, I am confident, be fulfilled in the near future.

Since I got out of the army in 1864 I have been going to England every year. I doubt whether any American of my generation has been so regular a visitor. I know that no American has secured more value and more pleasure from associations with England. Some of my best friends in England have during the half century "joined the majority," but I have added other friends to the circle, and I was in a position when this war broke out to talk with sympathy and with direct personal knowledge about England's task and England's duty ; and, as far as opportunity has come to me, I have been telling my fellow citizens in the States what it is that the British Empire stands for.

One hundred and forty years ago, we Yankees broke away from political relations with the British Empire. As we all know, it was not practicable to break away altogether, and it is very fortunate that we could not. We share with you the English language and we distribute the literature of England. Some of us Yankees got into the habit of making repeated visits to England and continued closer relations with English friends and English kin. We were dependent, particularly in our eastern states, upon the common law precedence of England, and, in the development of our political institutions, we always had upon us requirements of studying the history and the example of our English kin across the sea. In spite, therefore, of the cleavage of one hundred and forty years back, and in spite of misunderstandings which appeared serious at the time, during the years of our Civil War, we have during the past twenty-five years, and particularly during the past eighteen months, felt ourselves coming closer and closer to England. The issues on which our political relations were severed one hundred and forty years ago were issues not so much with Great Britain as with George III. and with his erratic Minister, Lord North. You will pardon me for criticizing a British Minister but he was in authority a long time back, and it is possible that he has no very personal friends in this audience. As sturdy an Englishman and as good a historical authority as my friend Sir George Otto Trevelyan writes that when we Americans fought through those seven years against the authority of George III. and Lord North we were fighting the fight of liberalism ; we were contending for representative government, not only for men of English heritage on this side of the Atlantic, but for men of English race throughout the world. That, says Trevelyan, was the purpose and was the result of what we called the Revolution, a contest that looms rather large in history on our side of the world but which you gentlemen have forgotten all about. Our so-called "Revolution" was, from the point of view of Trevelyan and other English liberals, merely a step in the development of representative government.

I think that Sir Edward Grey, a good fellow with a great task on his hands, is a good deal better statesman than Lord North ever was, and that he has a much better understanding of government problems. On our side of the water, we have a cordial appreciation for the skill, the recommendations and the sense of historic justice with which Sir Edward Grey has handled the tremendous problems that have come upon him. We have a cordial appreciation also of Mr. Asquith, whom I had the honour of knowing in Balliol, which is my home and sojourning place when I am in Oxford. Balliol has during a long series of years fallen into the habit of sending out good men to help to rule the world. From year to year it is my privilege to sit at the high table in Balliol College and I have been able, even with no little difficulty, to pull the story out from some modest youngster sitting next, who had been doing service at some point of friction on the edge of the Empire ; and who had shown the good judgment and the quiet pluck that characterize the younger men of England when the Empire calls upon them for service. The youngster that I have in mind for the moment, had at the time of his emergency, been hundreds of miles from any point where he could secure help or counsel. He had had a local princeling to take care of, with the general instruction that the young prince must feel that he was not being interfered with in his control of his dominion, but it was for the Balliol man to see that the prince did not get into mischief. That is not an easy task for any man and certainly not for an inexperienced young collegian, but I gather in the experience of these British youngsters, and I feel an increasing respect for what the British stock can do.

This great independent Dominion of Canada and the similarly independent Dominion of Australasia have, during the past half century, strengthened their foundations, increased their wealth and population and widened their responsibilities. They have been making an increasing contribution to the civilization of the world. They have already become in themselves empires with enormous potential capacity for material development. I have, however, come to feel, in meeting during my annual visits to London, Canadian and Australian friends, that the stronger they have grown in their own dominions, the nearer they have felt themselves coming to the Empire of Britain. They have given an imperial character to the feeling of kinship and to the common purpose that, in this time of stress, has shown that the British Empire is a real thing, a power that counts for its imperial citizens and for the civilization of the world.

On our side of the line, we Americans, or at least, the great mass of us are, in like manner, feeling that we are again coming nearer not only in sympathy but in desire for joint action, to our English kin ; that the political separation, more or less of an accident, of one hundred and forty years ago, is a bit of history long past, and that what we Americans of to-day are considering is that we have with our English kin, the same general problems, the maintenance of civilization as expressed in representative government, in the protection of the smaller peoples, in the maintenance of justice throughout the world, in the great fight of democracy in the wider sense of the term, against autocracy in the Berlin sense, what Berlin calls "divine government." In this so-called "divine government," the claim of a little group that thinks it should rule because the Emperor says that the Lord is speaking through him, most of us can find very little that is divine. If it is the Lord who is speaking through William, He is certainly using a very curious language.

In speaking of my countrymen, I have used the word "Americans" because there is no good descriptive term for the citizens of the United States. I suggest that you Canadians had better continue to call yourselves Canadians and let us have the monopoly of the other name. We have no desire to be greedy but really we have nothing else that is available, and, further, if in saying "we Americans," I am also including you, I am not troubled about that. That is all right.

Some of us have been trying, particularly during the past eighteen months, to crystallize into expression in the old American town meeting fashion, the belief that we have the right to express our own opinions. We have been endeavouring to formulate American conclusions in regard to the real issues of this great struggle. This is not an easy task. You have here a well organized commonwealth ; on our side of the line we have forty-eight commonwealths, and the men of the west charge us fellows in New York with ignorance of what goes on in other parts of the country. I remember a chap coming from Tennessee to the Honest Money Committee of the Chamber of Commerce in New York with the purpose of securing money that would help his election to Congress. He was talking to some of the financial magnates, men who thought themselves to be great citizens. He began his remarks with the words "the trouble with you Yorkers is that you are too damned provincial ; you think that the sun rises on one side of the Brooklyn Bridge and sets on t'other." That was a pretty introduction of himself to the great men of New York ! but the fellow from Tennessee got his funds, and he went back and was elected, and did good service in Congress for the cause of honest money. We may admit, however, that it is difficult for one section of our big country, a country made up of many communities, to have satisfactory knowledge of the other sections. The work of our American Rights Committee, a Committee that organized itself in my office a month or two back, has been thus far mainly in the east. I have myself been speaking, principally in towns within twenty-four hours' reach of New York, three or four times a week ; one week I spoke six times and had an engagement for the seventh, but the wife revolted on the seventh day and I had to get a substitute.

I have not been able to make time to go further west from New York than Ann Arbor. I have had audiences ranging from fifty people to thirty-five hundred, and from these audiences I have met with nothing but a cordial response to my word that England's fight is our fight and that we ought to be in it.

Three weeks ago we had a meeting of 2,500 people in Tremont Temple, Boston. In response to my word from the platform that we ought to take part with England, the whole 2,500 arose and we carried our resolutions by a vote of 2,500 to one. I said to the one man "I may respect your courage, but I cannot think much of your judgment."

On the thirteenth of March we had a meeting that filled Carnegie Hall in New York to the topmost gallery. The hall holds 3,500 people and our resolutions were passed by a vote of 3,400 to 40. I received before the meeting a number of threatening letters, and there had been articles in "The Herold" and "The Staats-Zeitung" calling upon self-respecting Germans to break up the meeting. I sent these letters and paragraphs to the Police Commissioner. One of the writers said that there would be bombs under the platform, but I assumed that this was balderdash, as proved to be the case. Commissioner Woods had a few plain clothes men scattered through the audience and as the interruptions came (and they came pretty regularly) things happened. The Sergeant in charge told me afterwards "you see, Major, I put out one a minute as long as they lasted" and there was real regret in his voice that they had not lasted longer.

We have a branch of our Committee in Boston, and just before I left New York for Toronto, several groups came together and constituted a national organization, of which they have made me the head. I said that they had better get a youngster but they responded that they thought I was young enough for their purpose. We have correspondence now in train for the organization of branches in Philadelphia, Chicago, Indianapolis and San Francisco. We have a meeting in train for the evening of Sunday, the 7th of May, the anniversary of the sinking of the Lusitania. We expect to give to this meeting a memorial character. We certainly want to emphasize that we must do what may be possible so that those who died on the Lusitania shall not have died in vain. We must make their deaths count towards civilization.

Our group has taken the ground that the United States ought at the outset of the war, to have placed itself at the head of a league of neutral nations. This action ought yet to be taken and, in addition, I contend that the time has now come to bring about a final break with the Teutonic powers who are fighting in behalf of barbarism.

The President is a patriotic man who has given conscientious thought and labour to his task. He has had serious burdens to carry and not the least of these burdens have been the three "baneful and bothersome B's"—Bryan, Bernstorff, and Berlin. We have got rid of Bryan. We are trying to send off Bernstorff, and we shall be well satisfied to break relations with Berlin.

We ought to have made protest with the first act of infamy with which the war began, the invasion of Belgium, and we should have continued to protest against the continued atrocities in Belgium and against the deliberate warfare waged on non-combatants, in England with Zeppelins, and on the sea with submarines. I am myself an old soldier and I know what devastation war brings in its train, but the things I have been speaking of, what has been done in Belgium, in England and in Armenia, are not the incidental results of war. They are crimes committed under official orders from Berlin. Many of you have read the report of Viscount Bryce on the atrocities in Belgium. I have had the honour of knowing Viscount Bryce for many years. Anything that bears his signature, anything that has been under his supervision, carries a weight that counts with all nations. Some of you have read the report printed in Paris under the editorship of Bedier in which the German orders are given in facsimile on one page and in French translation on the other. I do not know of any history, ancient or modern, in which have been committed not incidentally but under official orders, such damnable things as have been done in this war.

We should have protested in such fashion that these damnable things could not come to be accepted or even thought of as precedent. I may say in all frankness, that, in my judgment, it would have been wise, if only to make clear that we were fighting for the rights of neutrals, to have included in our protests a protest against certain things that have been done by Great Britain. I think further, however, that having made such protest in order to prevent bad things from crystallizing into precedent (Great Britain is herself often a neutral and would find bad precedents very inconvenient) they should have been put on the shelf for consideration later at some court of The Hague or the Geneva Convention. We know that when the time comes and there is opportunity for judicial investigation, we shall be paid for all the cargoes that ought to be paid for ; and I, for one, am not willing to be discussing cargoes when we ought to be protecting lives. When my friends talk to me about this interference with our cargoes (some of my own have been interfered with) and interruption of our mails, and new precedents about blockades, I say two things : These practices are inconvenient and troublesome, I may have said "damned troublesome"—I beg the Lord Bishop's pardon (bowing to the Bishop of Toronto)—but one uses such a term not frivolously but as an expression of sacred conviction. But these things can all be adjusted, and when Great Britain is fighting for its life, is fighting for its obligations and for civilization, is fighting for the liberties of the United States, I say "don't bother Great Britain. Put your protest on record and let it wait." That is my counsel and I find that my auditors are generally in sympathy with me rather than with the anti-English suggestions of Bryan and Hoke Smith and their gang. I have taken the ground that we should have taken action not merely for the defence of American citizens (that, of course, is the first duty of an American government) but in behalf of the rights and duties of non-combatants. The Zeppelins, for instance, have been used hardly at all in the work of campaigning. They have not ventured to take Zeppelins over the battle lines nor have soldiers been attacked from them. These have been used for what? For the killing of women and children. Three weeks back there was a pathetic report (think of an officer putting such a report on record) of a Zeppelin raid which might, I think, be called a failure. "Killed one baby; mortally wounded one woman." It is difficult to understand how a soldier could accept orders for this kind of work, or to imagine the character of the official who gives the order.

I was presiding the other night over a meeting called in behalf of Armenia. I took the ground that the Treaty of Berlin was one of the great mistakes of Great Britain, even though so good a man as Lord Salisbury, with Lord Beaconfield, was responsible for it. This treaty, which held back Russia from Constantinople, was a mistake. Constantinople ought to have been occupied in 1878. The Turks ought then to have been sent back to Asia and never again allowed a footing on the territory of Europe. If the Christian States had not, in 1853, been quarrelling among themselves, the Greek Empire would never have been overthrown.

In 1823, the Turks were murdering Greeks, and the American people were so indignant at the murder in the Isle of Scio of five thousand Greeks that a protest on behalf of the United States was worded by a man who knew how to use the English language, Daniel Webster. At that time we had no responsibilities in Europe, no army and no navy, and we were but a little people, but we could not sit still and allow such a murder to go on without making utterance of the protest, which bore the name of President Monroe and was approved without a dissenting vote in Congress and by successive State Legislatures, beginning with Massachusetts. We protested not only against the atrocity of the Turks but against the European States which permitted such atrocities, and they were all more or less responsible. England did finally do its part in helping to shape the kingdom of Greece, and the Greeks ought to-day to carry a better memory of England's service. I hope the Greeks will yet wake up.

Within the last fifteen months, over one million Armenians have been killed, and it is mortifying to me, as an American, that no protest has been made by the United States. I heard pitiful stories from two or three of the women who survived the awful migration of the exiles driven out from Armenia southward to the desert. The young men had been drafted off before the massacre began and put on the front at Caucasus, where they have been largely shot down by the Russians. The old men paid sums to escape the sentence of death but nevertheless, many of them were shot. The women and children were sent south on those awful long marches, where they perished from starvation, fatigue and heat. Women and children were murdered in front of the German Consulates in Armenia and no German lifted a hand to prevent. The German Consuls are efficient and they do as they are told to do. Without question, their reports about the massacres went to the authroities in Constantinople. If the German Ambassador in Constantinople had lifted his hand, these awful crimes would have been stayed ; but neither from the Ambassador in Constantinople nor from authorities anywhere, did there come a protest or a question. The existence of Constantinople depends upon Berlin. The Turks have for fourteen months done nothing that Berlin did not approve and little that Berlin did not command. I hold Berlin responsible for the massacre of Armenia, and I contend that a protest should have gone from Washington on behalf of the whole people, not only to Constantinople but to Berlin, for the greatest crime of the century.

I am mortified to realize that our President should (as is inevitable as long as diplomatic relations continue) be in diplomatic and in social relations with the representatives of Turkey and of Prussia, nations responsible for murder. The Ambassador from Berlin and the Charge from Constantinople ought to have been sent home.

I have been going to England from year to year for fifty years and I think I know my England. I have never heard or read an utterance of an Englishman wanting anything that belonged to Germany. I have friends in the eastern counties, and I have been in personal touch with the apprehension on the part of the residents there of invasion of the eastern coast. There has been some natural annoyance at the expansion of German commerce at the expense of English trade, an annoyance natural in any case, that the general training given to the German employees, better than that given to many English employees, (I speak with experience for I have used them both and I am using them still) should have taken away much work that otherwise would have been retained for Englishmen. Nothing, however, has been permitted to stand in the way of carrying out the old-time British policy of "a fair field and no favour." The Germans have had free access to all parts of the Empire and have been permitted to make money out of the British Empire for the benefit of Germans owners in Germany. The Germans talk of a naval tyranny of the seas. The British fleet has maintained the peace of the seas on which seas the German commercial marine, developed with a full measure of enterprise, has made money under the protection of the British flag. It is the greatest balderdash possible for the Germans to talk of British tyranny throughout the world. The British Empire protects everybody and stands in the way of nobody. I am myself a free trader and I have contended in talking to fellow citizens, many of whom are protectionists, that it is not through any artificial system of tariff that the world can be brought together in peaceful relations. There must be a breaking down of the old barriers, an acceptance of the British principle of "a fair field and no favour." Citizens all over the world must be permitted to do what they can do best and to make what they can make best and to buy where they can buy best. Under such relations, the peoples of the world will be much more likely to come together and to stay together in friendly relations. The barriers of protection bring friction and quarrels and jealousies. I think that the world is tending toward a relation of free exchange although it will not come in my time.

The exceptional enterprise and the excellent business training of the Germans were, before the war, securing for Germany an enormous advantage and great progress. If Germany had waited a few years she would have secured a commercial position throughout the world that is not now likely to be secured for many years to come ; but it is the fault of Berlin that the results of her commercial enterprise are being undermined by war conditions.

I have during a long series of years had occasion to make visits to Germany from time to time at the gatherings of the International Copyright League and of the Publishers' Association, and I have, while in Berlin and Leipzic, taken the opportunity of listening from time to time to the utterances of the German historians. I have continually heard the very frank statement to the effect that—"while the eighteenth century was under the influence of France and the nineteenth, mainly owing to its big navy, was largely controlled by England, the twentieth century belongs to us in Germany. It is time the British Empire should be broken up and we, the Germans, are the natural inheritors. We are going to organize an empire that will not be a mere military episode like that of Napoleon, but that will remain through the ages. It will be organized with German system and it will spread and enforce German Kultur. It will have the qualities of the Roman Empire with the advantages of German civilization. The British Empire has outlived its day. It is decadent and is no longer needed. Its citizens are not willing to make the sacrifices required to maintain their imperial control. We Germans have got the army, the strongest force in the world, we are rapidly constructing the navy and we shall shortly be in a position to enforce our imperial policies. The sooner these policies and the necessary results are understood by you Amricans the better for you. Your interests will best be cared for by co-operation with Germany. If you decide upon any other course you will, like the British Empire, have to accept German domination. When we have taken such of the British colonies as we require we shall be in a position to exert our rightful influence in the western hemisphere."

The utterance reminded me of a word given in the Memoir of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. His father said to him one day "Richard, you are getting to be a pretty big boy ; it is time you took a wife." "Certainly," said Richard, "whose wife shall I take ?" That is the German theory of action. There are in Germany thousands of decent Germans, and I have come to know not a few of them as personal friends, but I feel now as if good old Germany and not a few German-Americans in the States have been poisoned by the fumes of the prussic acid pouring out from Berlin. I am, however, not willing to believe that the great German-American population, the largest element in the States outside of the old English stock, is prepared to accept the contentions of the Hohenzollerns, the theory of imperial military government, the divine right of emperors. These Germans in the States are largely the sons of the men who in 1848 fought against this same imperial domination. My dear old brother-in-law, now eighty years of age, and the last of the 'Forty Eighters, Abraham Jacobi, was a comrade and close friend of Carl Schurz. He has said to me and he has said in print "Haven, we fought against this damned business in 1848 and are not going to approve of it now ; if my friend Schurz were living, and I have the right to speak for Schurz, I know he would oppose it as sternly as I do."

The attitude and the heritage of such men is an important fact in shaping the political opinion and the political action of the United States.

We believe that the noisy group who are making threats and writing abusive letters, constitute but a faction of our German population. The faction that has been yelling for Berlin and spending money secured from the German Embassy, for burning our munition factories, for inciting strikes, for buying papers and for the manufacturing of bombs for the destruction of our ships, this is but a small faction, and the great mass of our German-American citizens are loyal to the Republic.

There is no other important group in the States of foreign heritage who will give us trouble in this issue. The Hungarians are not particularly loyal to Berlin ; and the Bohemians and Moravians and Slovaks are fiercely antagonistic both to Berlin and to Vienna. They were in a rebellious frame of mind when they came away and they have no desire to be called back to fight for imperialism. The Italians with us are, of course, all right, although not very many of them have gone home to fight. I wish the fighting in Italy were a little fiercer and more successful, but it will still be made useful. We have a big colony of Greeks and as far as I understand the matter, the Greeks want to have their share in the final settlement though they are not anxious to do any fighting now. The men in the Roumanian colony in New York say that want to have Roumania go into the war, but if you ask them whether they are ready to go back and do their part, the response is "no, they have got enough without me, we are all right where we are."

The issues that are being fought out come up from century to century. If I had been alive in 1812 I should have wanted to take part with England and Germany in the war of liberation fought to save Europe from the imperial domination threatened by Napoleon; and if I were a younger man I should be to-day on the staff of the British army, doing what was in my power to save Europe from the imperial domination of the Hohenzollerns.

There has from time to time been ground for anxiety about friction and irritation that is being instituted in the States against Great Britain in connection with cotton shipments and with other things. These attempts were, in large part, paid for with German money and were under the direction of the German Embassy, which has been the hotbed of mischievous doings of all kinds. It has been a pleasure to note, in connection with the pernicious activities of Bernstorff and his staff, the quiet reticence and dignity of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice and of Jusserand and of Havernith, the Minister from Belgium. Think what he might have said if he had felt himself free to talk to the American public.

Mischief has been done by propaganda on which millions of dollars were spent, not on the east—certainly not in New England, but in the south and southwest. There are regions where the folks hardly knew until six months after the fighting that there was any war ; and these people do not yet understand the responsibilities that the United States has in the war. I think that German money that has been spent in these back-country regions has made mischief and we are now trying in the American Rights Society and in the National Security League to combat this mischief.

I have heard merchants and shipping men denouncing the interference with American trade brought about by orders in council and by their regulations. I have reminded some of these men that when the Republic was fighting for its life half a century back, we did some things ourselves towards stretching the rights of combatants against neutrals. We certainly extended the theory of the continuous voyage and we seized certain cargoes from British vessels which were well outside of our coast line. I remember being in Georgia at a time when one million ball-cartridges were taken off an English vessel which was at that time some hundred miles from the Bahamas. The captain swore that these cartridges were to be utilized for shooting snipe in the West Indies, and we refused to believe it. When I have emphasized these troublesome precedents in our own record, my shipping friends have been prepared to admit that England has now, as we had in 1862, a hard task on its hands and that we ought to be sympathetic and patient with interference brought upon American trade.

Our President, for whose nomination I worked and for whom I voted, has during the past eighteen months been carrying a heavy burden. He is a conscientious and patriotic citizen. The individual opinions of a President on an international issue can, of course, never be known, except, possibly, by his wife. Nobody knows from any utterance of Mr. Wilson what his views are in regard to the rights and wrongs of the European war. I have myself had personal relations with Mr. Wilson in the years before he was a political leader, on the Short Ballot Committee and in other public work. It is my own impression (I give this simply as my personal guess and not for quotation) that Woodrow Wilson (I am not now speaking of the President, but of the man) has no more affection for the Hohenzollern theory of government than you and I have, and you may suspect that I am myself not quite neutral, although I claim to be as neutral as any self-respecting American ought to be. With full consideration for the burdens that the President has been bearing, and with cordial approval of most of his utterances and of certain things that he has done in regard to the protection of American rights, I can but feel that he has been unduly patient during the months since the sinking of the Lusitania in the maintenance of those rights. He uttered a good word when he said "To forbid Americans from the exercise of their assured rights in the dread lest we might be called upon to vindicate those rights, that would indeed be a humiliation." Our Committee has given in public its approval to Wilson's demand that the men in Congress, some groups of whom were trying to give to Europe the impression that we had divided counsels in the nation, and that we could not be depended upon to take decisive action, should stand up and be counted. We commended the President's letter to Senator Stone of Missouri, in which he said that no American rights would be or could be waived. Having given this word of praise where praise was due, we then set forth in our Carnegie Hall meeting, being careful to use parliamentary language, that our President had been unduly patient in regard to well assured grievances ; unduly patient in the maintenance of the rights of American citizens, the rights of neutrals and the rights of non-combatants. I will not venture, gentlemen, in speaking of my own President and outside of the borders of my own country, to use any stronger criticism.

You gentlemen doubtless agree with me that a German pledge is not worth very much, and yet a German pledge is all that he is in a position to demand. In the documents issued by our Committee we are taking the ground that German pledges cannot be accepted. We are telling the American people that they have rights but that they also have duties. They have the right to secure proper protection for their lives, not only at home but abroad ; to secure safety for their property, for their coast lines and for the wealthy cities of the coast. It was to that end that the American Security League, of which I was one of the organizers, was brought into existence. We pointed out that the nation had urgent duties to perform and that for the performance of those duties our national resources must be organized. Steps are now being taken to that end and in the belief that American men will be ready to fight when called upon by the Republic. We are now emphasizing with the public that the United States has but one logical and reasonable course of action. We must take direct part with England and with England's Allies who are fighting our fight and also the fight of civilization.

I have been reminding my fellow citizens that the so-called Monroe Doctrine which is, of course, not a doctrine at all but only a policy, has been maintained through the past century by the British fleet ; and that it is the Monroe Doctrine with the British fleet back of it, that has preserved the peace of the western hemisphere. If there had been German colonies in Brazil and in the West Indies, the United States would have been obliged to sit up and take notice ; and I think it wiser to begin to take notice now. As long, however, as we have been in direct cooperation with Great Britain (only Britain has contributed much the larger portion of the force), as long as we have accepted for our hemisphere the general policy of Great Britain, it is in order for us to give Great Britain our cooperation in the maintenance of British policy for the world at large.

England and her Allies are fighting against the German theory of the "divine state." They are fighting for representative government ; for the protection of the smaller peoples ; for the maintenance of peace with justice (and any other peace is a rotten peace) throughout the world. The Allies are calling on us Americans for cooperation. Britain calls—Britain, the most beneficent Empire with all its blunders and all its misdeeds, that the world has ever known. The British Empire has done more for the peoples under its control than has ever been done by any Empire in history. I think of India, with its three hundred millions of people loyal now not under authority but simply to the imperial idea as represented by the flag. The soldiers are gone, fighting in France, fighting for the Empire, but the Union Jack is there. The loyalty is assured because the East Indians recognize what has been done by the English in maintaining throughout that great peninsula peace with justice ; in giving opportunity for education ; in making increasing openings for the Indians themselves to take part in local government and in so doing, to secure training as citizens. During the first six months of the war I read in my Lokal Anzeiger from Berlin that India was in a state of unrest, that to-morrow it would be in rebellion ; but Berlin did not know and could not understand.

I think of Egypt where, for the first time in its history, a recorded history that goes back nearly ten thousand years, the *fellah*, the peasant of the Nile, like the *ryot* on the Ganges, is able to gather in the fruit of his own labours. He realizes the value of British law and of British justice. He feels that he has been well served by Britain, and the *fellah* on the Nile is as loyal to Great Britain as is the *ryot* on the Ganges.

I may refer also to South Africa. Gentlemen, a few years back I had my hands somewhat full in defending British action in South Africa. Not a few of my American friends were honestly critical. They spoke of the crushing of the poor Boers. I took the ground that there was something to be said for the rights of the natives who had been dominated by the Boers ; and that Britain was standing for general justice and that when Britain won out, justice and not domination would be secured. And now I am beautifully triumphant. I point to South Africa ruled not by Britain but by its own people, mainly Boers, and remind the old-time critics that these Boers have been fighting for the privilege of remaining in the British Empire and that they have won out.

Britain calls to her American cousins for help in maintaining righteous government throughout the world. And France calls—that great Republic, standing as it does, for intellectuality and light and leading, for a charming civilization ; always ready to give sympathetic recognition to the rights and interests of other people. France, now putting up one of the pluckiest fights ever known in history, a fight not merely for its own existence, but for Europe, for civilization and for America. France has a rightful claim to our sympathy and to our help.

And little Belgium, the murdered state, the devastated state, calls to America. Think of that little Belgian army fighting when it knew that it could not be saved, that it could not protect Belgian territory, fighting simply to gain time, and by gaining three weeks' time, saving Paris, saving Calais, possibly saving Europe. I think that King Albert and his loyal Queen, pacing that bit of yellow sand in the northwestern corner of Belgium, all that is left of their heritage, and looking over the devastated region to which I hope they may speedily return, I think this King and Queen are the most heroic figures in modern history.

And Germany calls ; not the Germany that has been dominated by the Hohenzollerns and obsessed by the dream of imperial control, but the old-time Germany, the Germany of ideals, the Germany that in 1848 fought against this same imperialism; the Germany of Goethe, of Koerner, of Richter, of Heine ; the Germany which has given to my own country some of the best citizens we have had ; great leaders like Schurz and scientists like Jacobi : I hold that the future welfare of the true Germany depends upon the defeat of the dreams of the Hohenzollerns. The true Germany, to which the United States owes much, is rightfully entitled to the sympathetic help and service of Americans.

Gentlemen, we are working on our side of the line to organize the forces of the Republic so that help may be given. We hold that the issues of civilization are at stake. The men with whom I am associated have a missionary and educational task on our hands, but old and young, we are determined to do our part to bring the American people to a sense of its responsibility to the end that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the face of the earth."

Vote of thanks was moved by Sir John Willison and seconded by President Dr. Falconer, of Toronto University.

CLOSE OF THE SESSION, 1915-1916

On Thursday evening, May 4, 1916, a large attendance of Members assembled at the Cafe Royal, King St. E., for an informal dinner. Members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in the City of Toronto were welcomed as the guests of honour for the occasion. President Dr. Albert Ham gave his address, the reports were submitted, and, with intervals of vocal music, the items of business and the elections were disposed of.

Rev. Captain W. A. Cameron of Bloor St. Baptist Church gave an address on "Canada and the Empire after twenty months of War" which was a rousing appeal to do the utmost for the highest cause ever undertaken by men. Mr. James Black Perry was unanimously elected President for 1916-1917. In accepting the presidency he said :

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the distinguished honour you have this evening conferred upon me. It is indeed a very distinguished honour to be chosen President of the Empire Club of Canada. An honour that I am quite sure might have been more fittingly bestowed at this time. In view, however, of the unanimity of the Club, and of the splendid character of our Council of Ex-Presidents who will stand by me ; and of the fine Committee you have chosen for the ensuing year, I accept the office with pleasure. And, I am hopeful that, along with the sympathetic cooperation of the entire membership of the Club, we shall, all pulling together, be able to maintain the fine traditions of our patriotic organization.

When I think of the distinguished gentlemen who so worthily occupied the chair of the Club in years gone by—that distinguished Scottish scholar, the late Professor Clarke of Trinity College; our gallant friend General James Mason who was the first president of the Club; the Right Reverend Dr. Sweeny ; Hon. Justice Craig ; and others. When I remember all the distinguished gentlemen who presided over the affairs of the Club in past years, I feel that I shall have to aim high, and walk very circumspectly, to maintain the standard set up by them,

Gentlemen—We are all Canadians, most of us native born Canadians ; proud of our Country, which we think is the brightest flower in the brilliant bouquet of British nations ! And being Canadians, we are all British ; and heirs, by virtue of our nationality, to all lands owning Britain's sway.

To be British has always meant much in times past, but never before so much as at this present awful time of carnage, when our freedom and the freedom of the world is trembling in the balance.

In the present crisis we do well to remember our great British forefathers! "The structure of freedom they built, and savedfor us in one long continuity of their life with our life, political and national, unbroken. Encirc lingwith the areola of their fame the round of earth. The seven seas forever singing requiems to their hallowed memories.

Our ancestors, who, three centuries ago, "let slip the dogs of war" and swept Spain's squadrons from the sea. Who, two centuries ago, hurried a would-be tyrant from the throne, and laid, deep and broad, the solid foundation of civil and religious liberty. All the gallant men who carried the British Flag—that emblem that represents the greatest truths that ever came down from Heaven to man—equal rights and liberty to all. The men who planted that glorious banner in dark and distant corners of the world, where freedom was before unknown, where justice lay trampled under foot, where self-sacrifice had never been born. The long line of brave men who reared the British realm, and who set on foot great nations yet to be within the realm—Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada. The Scotchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen and Welshmen—Anglo-Celtic and Anglo-Saxon, who raised their flag—our flag—

to fly over countless millions yet unborn ; and under whose folds freedom and right shall ever be found—personal freedom, national, political, intellectual and religious freedom— where the rights of great and small shall ever be equally sacred ; and where every man may live under his own vine and fig tree none daring to make him afraid." When I think of these things—as a native born Canadian—I feel proud of my British birthright ; and of the great charter of freedom handed down to us. And I feel very proud indeed of the gallant part this virile outpost of the Imperial Realm is taking just now in the old British fight for the freedom of mankind.

While other nations, equally in duty bound, shiver on the brink ; enfeebled by sordid and sinister influences; take cover behind our walls of floating steel—the freedom protecting walls that ride the world-wide waves—this big little Canada of ours, this northern zone of our wide Empire has made known to the ends of the earth that we at any rate, are not too proud to fight for the freedom that is so dear to us ! And that, with a marvellously brief period of preparation under the direction of a vigorous minister of war, and gallant commanders (such as we have with us here tonight) an expeditionary force of our red-blooded freemen have been made fit, yea more than fit, to meet the onslaughts of legions whose whole life has been given to preparation for hellish war. In proof of this I call to witness *Langemarck*—

Canada heard the world-wide call,
"Ready !" she cried, "Our best, our all
We freely give, to stand or fall
    For Truth and Liberty !"

"To arms ! to arms !" the bugles sang ;
From East to West the echoes rang ;
Our freemen, hearing, forward sprang
    To smite Hun Tyranny.

Over the land and sea they came,
To play the brave man's gallant game—
To wage red war in Heaven's name,
    To save Humanity.

On to the battle front they roll'd,
Flow'r of the Free, strong, firm and bold,
To 'venge the wrong'd, and right uphold,
With guns and musketry.

Sudden and swift, mid storms of shell
At *Langemarck*, the fiends of Hell
Let loose vile fumes that deadly fell
On our brave infantry.

Then, oh, great God, through crash and boom,
Through iron rain and poison fume,
Our fearless men charged through the gloom,
To deal with Infamy.

"Strike home !" they cried, through fume and flame,
"Strike down the hellish hordes of shame !
"Strike for Heaven! For Britain's name !
"And for Posterity."

Down through the reeling Huns they came ;
Triumphantly they played the game,
And "sav'd the day" ! won endless fame,
And Immortality !

And what our brave boys did that day in Flanders, gentlemen, hundreds of thousands of the same gallant Canadian breed, now on the way, are ready to do to-morrow.

THE SESSION, 1916-1917

PRACTICAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY SIR GEORGE PERLEY, K.C.M.G.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
August 29, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been in England for two years ; I was just about to return home when war was declared, and it was my duty and pleasure to stay all through and carry on the work of the High Commissioner's office to the best of my ability. I think it is specially appropriate that I should speak a few words to the members of this Empire Club, because I know of no one who is more anxious than I am personally to see some practical way found by which this British Empire shall come closer together and be perpetuated, because I believe that this Empire of ours is the greatest secular force for good that the world has ever seen. We want to perpetuate it, but we want to find some practical way in which we shall get a voice in all matters of any concern, such as peace and war, and foreign affairs—something that we as a self-respecting people claim that we should have, and that we have a right to. I have spoken about this a good many times in London, and have put this view of the case before them there, and I am happy to say that public opinion over there is growing from day to day more strongly in favour of that course. I have no cut-and-dried plan. I am not sure that it is wise to put forward any concrete suggestion as to how this desired result should be brought about. Sometimes I think that a concrete plan is liable to a good deal of criticism, not only from opponents of what we believe right ourselves, but from those who, while believing in the British Empire being perpetuated, have some other plan which they would like to put forward. My own personal idea is that we ought to try and arrange for a convention or meeting in London, small in numbers, at which all the different parts of the Empire should be represented, in order that they might discuss this question, might sit around a table and try and find some plan or system which would be agreeable to all—much in the same way as the Dominion of Canada was started—and if this Convention would agree, then of course the suggestion would have to be put to the vote of the countries represented, but I think we might take for granted that the vote would be favourable to the plan under those conditions. We must retain our autonomy—we have fought for it for a great many years ; we have privileges and rights of self-government within our own borders here which none of us are prepared to give up to the slightest degree. While we keep those privileges and rights, we can still have a voice in Imperial matters, in common concerns, and it seems to me we could work out that problem on some such plan as was adopted for the confederation of these Provinces in Canada. Then I quite agree that we should have a self-contained empire; I have been strongly in favour of that, and have spoken several times in London on the subject. This war has taught us and has taught Britain conclusively that it is a dangerous thing that any vital industries of Britain should be in the hands of the enemy, or that the enemy should have any control over the country. We have within the borders of our empire everything that we can possibly need, not only for sustenance, but for luxury as well, and we should see that those natural resources which are within our own borders shall be kept within those borders and that they shall be always under our control, because in that way it is evident we shall always be, both in peace and war, independent of any other country in the world. That attitude raises questions of policy in Great Britain which they have appointed a Commission to discuss ; they are endeavouring to find some common ground in the British Isles, with the idea of meeting afterwards with representatives from the other parts of the Empire to discuss this and other questions from the Imperial point of view. The help that Canada has given towards the war both in men and money is greatly appreciated, and when the Dominions are mentioned in the Old Country any remarks made are received with the greatest applause ; but to-day I should like to say a few words as to what Britain has done in this war. Great Britain has had a great history, of which we are proud, but I believe she has never been greater than she is in this war. She was utterly unprepared for war, but when Germany ruthlessly invaded Belgium, contrary to her sacred promise to protect that country, Britain, without waiting at all, instantly declared war against Germany and entered into this fight, and sent help to France to carry out her plighted word. No one realized how brave—one man said rash—Britain was to declare war at that time, because of her lack of preparation ; but she did not hesitate a moment. Then with the help of Lord Kitchener, whose sad death so short a time ago the whole world sadly regrets, Britain set to work to prepare an army and to make the guns and shells necessary to enable her to fight this terrible foe. You all know what happened since ; I need not go over it ; four millions of men enlisted in Britain voluntarily before the Military Service Bill came into force ; and the whole country is turned into an arsenal for the manufacture of guns and shells. We have spent the past two years in off-setting the advantages with which Germany started ; but now we are on an equality with them. Some people say that Britain should have been better prepared for war—I have heard that said many times—but we are a peaceful country, asking only to be allowed to develop our vast territories in our own way without any thought of aggression against any other country in the world ; we dislike the burdens of militarism, and naturally we must abide by the defects of our own qualities. And so we were unprepared for war. But, compare our position to-day with what it was a year ago, and it is evident that everything is going our way, though slowly. The initiative is now with us. I take it that the crisis of this war is at this time, when we are as strong as the enemy in both men and munitions. Victory will be ours, but it will take all our efforts ; there must be no slackening in our efforts. Roumania has come in ; it is good news ; her soldiers will not only give the help of her trained army, but the moral effect is going to be good, particularly in the east and among all neutral countries, and the effect on the minds of the people of Austro-Hungary must be distinctly disagreeable. I believe this is the beginning of the end ; but when that end will come, who can tell ? The enemy is still strong and confident, and we must put forward all our efforts to beat him. The Allies need from this country of ours all the help that we can give in both men and money ; and I hope that you all well understand that that is my feeling about it. So much for what the army of Britain has done. Then we have the navy—the sure shield of this Empire of ours. It does its work so quietly and without publicity that we are sometimes liable to forget the wonderful effect the navy has had on this war. Through it we can control the seas of the world. German shipping is swept from them—except an odd submarine. By that power we are enabled to send to Britain, or rather Britain is enabled to bring to herself, the food and supplies which she must get from other countries in order to support her own people and carry on this war. Not only that, but through the power of the navy we are able to send across the Channel that dull stream of ships carrying men, food and guns without which—I say it advisedly—it would be impossible to continue this war for a single day. The supremacy of this navy of ours has never been really challenged, and cannot be—the battle of Jutland has demonstrated that, and the more we hear and know of the facts of that battle the surer we are that it was a great victory for us, and if it had not been for the fog and mist that prevented us from keeping the German ships in sight, the enemy fleet would in all probability have been completely annihilated. Then Britain has helped financially ; it is hard to realize how much she has done in that direction. She has not only to get an immense sum of money for her own uses from day to day, but she has to supply money for our Allies—for France, Russia and Italy—and the burden on her in consequence of this is terrific. Germany does not have to buy much ; rather, we do not let her buy much from other countries ; therefore she can use within her own borders a depreciated currency which passes from hand to hand ; but with Britain it is different, for she has to buy and pay in cash for those things from foreign countries, and the fact that she has been able to do so shows her financial strength, and the work of that kind has been handled by the British Government in a masterly way. The burden is great, but I am sure that the resources of the British Empire are such that we shall be able to sustain that financial burden longer and better than our adversaries. Canada has helped in this way a good deal also. We were always a great borrowing country, and it is greatly to the credit of the people of this country that they were able to change their mode of life and save the money in such a way that the balance of trade against us has been wiped out since the war, and that now it is the other way. We are now providing in this country all the money we need to use here, and we are also helping largely to finance the purchases of munitions which the British Government is making in this country. Our action in that direction is greatly appreciated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he has told me himself more than once ; and I hope the people of this country will continue to save as much as possible in order in that way to help Britain to bear the great financial burden which she is under. I mention these things about Britain simply to show that there is no sign of decadence there such as has marked the empires of the past. The Germans thought that Britain would not fight; they knew that she loved peace; they thought that the empire would break to pieces in war. The result has been different, and it is the pride and glory of us all that it is so. For some time the people in Great Britain hardly realized this war, but to-day every man, aye, every woman in it, is doing his or her best to help, and I say to you that they have shown that they are prepared to protect their own homes and their country with their lives. They have raised this immense volunteer army, something that was never done in the world before, and that I do not believe could have been done in any country except Britain.

Now, I will say a few words to you about the condition of things in England. As I said, they did not at first realize the seriousness of this great conflict. They do now. Everybody is thinking of the war, not only the men but the women. We see women occupying all kinds of positions which have been vacated by the men who have gone to the front. You will find women conductors on the busses; women taking up tickets on the trains at the stations. Nearly all the men of military age have gone from the shops, and their places are taken by women. Women are doing a great deal in the manufacture of shells and other munitions, and I am told that they are able to do just as good work in that direction as the men, that is, in a great many cases. Then I do not know how the crops in Britain would be gathered if it were not for the women; all classes are helping in that direction. Not long ago my wife and I saw in the north of England five young women, well-bred girls, working on the farm, milking, looking after the pigs and chickens, and one of them was even ploughing. They were there working from six till six for a pound a week, doing their bit, and the father of the chief one among them is one of the very highest officers in the command of the army in Mesopotamia. I mention that to show you that this work of the women is not confined to any one class; they are all ready to do it. I understand that some Canadian women are offering to do this kind of work, and I see that the Munitions Board say they are getting short of men. Well, I hope that a way will be found by which the offer of those women to take the places of some of the men may be utilized by us in this country.

Our stay in London has been a very interesting though busy one ; but you know there are no social functions there now as in peace time ; everything is work, with very little play. Occasionally we have to have an official dinner, as on the night before I left, when the High Commissioners gave a dinner to the Parliamentary delegates from overseas ; but there are almost no social events in the evening ; London is dark and dangerous. I do not bother much about the Zeppelin danger ; from the military point of view the Zeppelins do not do any damage ; of course one may be hurt by one, but it would be very bad luck. That is the way I look at it. The Germans are simply making those raids to show us that they want to kill all the people they can, it does not matter whether they are women and children or soldiers. But the darkness of London is such that we all stay in in the evening if possible ; if you go out you have the danger of being run over, for the taxis and every means of locomotion have dim lamps, while the street globes are painted down two-thirds of the way and just throw a little glimmer at the foot of the post. Many of you have been in London, but it is getting worse from month to month, and last winter it was far darker than during the previous winter.

I have been at the front twice, both times in winter, once last January and the first time a year ago in January. The first time I was there was before our own men went over to France, and conditions there were much worse than they were last winter; they were so bad that I really think we would have said before the war that it was impossible to put up with them and live. Our line in France at that time was pretty thin—thinner than many of us knew—so that our soldiers had to stay longer in the trenches than they did in this past winter. In some cases they stayed there as much as a week or ten days without relief. The trenches, which had been hastily dug in the soil of Flanders, which is a rich soil which brings the water near to the surface, all had water in them, many places up to the knees, and there were no pumps to empty the water out, and they had no boards to make platforms to raise themselves as they did last winter ; the consequence was that they had to fight and hold that line in Flanders under those awful conditions, the whole thing a sea of mud. It rained all the time, and the trenches were in this terrible condition. Of course last winter it was better. They had learned how to make the trenches better, how to raise themselves out of the wet, how to pump the water out, and so on, and they had learned how to make better places for themselves to live in. Of course a lot of these boys live in holes in the ground, and the great art is to make them covered so that if the shells come they will go over it, and if a man is throwing bombs from an aeroplane he cannot distinguish those places from the ground—just as birds and animals try to make homes that cannot be distinguished by their enemies. Before the war I think it would have been considered impossible for human beings to stand the conditions that were forced on the troops at first, but in spite of those conditions our men were well and cheerful. Salisbury Plain was nearly as bad ; they had bad luck there, the most rainy winter there had been in London for years. Though it is a nice place in dry weather, in those conditions it was a quagmire much the same as in Flanders. I have seen our boys marching in Salisbury Plain and at the front under those awful conditions bright and cheery, always so ; they seem to forget their little discomforts at the front, and they do not know anything but the business they are at, which is to kill Germans. The cheeriness and the spirit of those fellows, our own and British and so on, is amazing under those conditions. It would seem that the fresh air offsets the disadvantages of the mud and dirt ; and as those fellows come into my office, in London, as they do every day, I am delighted to see how well they are—cheery, red-cheeked, and not as if they had come right straight from the trenches. My own belief is that those of our boys who really escape the German bullets and shells will be better physically than they ever would have been otherwise ; this life in the open is going to help them in every way. This cheeriness follows right on to our wounded men. Our boys are well looked after at the front ; they are well fed, well clothed—I do not think they need any articles of clothing, extra comforts, except a pair of socks occasionally. Never was there an army so well fed and well clothed as this British army is. The French are probably just as good, but I have not been in their lines. Then there is hardly any sickness ; typhoid is almost unknown. The consequence is that when men are wounded nearly all of those recover who get even into the first auxiliary clearing station. When we read those heavy list of casualties we must remember one or two things. They are terrible, and we sorrow with the people whose dear ones are there ; but we must remember that the loss is mitigated by several things. In the first place, a large number of those wounded men are only slightly wounded, and they are able to go back to fighting again in a few days. Then, a man who is wounded is taken directly to the first casualty clearing station, where he gets first aid, and then back to the base hospital; and if he is not too badly wounded they send him off to the English hospital as quickly as possible. Cases have been known where a man wounded in the morning at the front has been in the English hospital at night. The Medical arrangements are really splendid, and I was almost going to say perfect ; all the men that are in those hospitals will confirm what I am saying in that respect. The consequence is that the men are so well fed and clothed, they are so well looked after when they are wounded, that out of those who get into the first casualty clearing station, who do not die on the battle field, the percentage of deaths is exceedingly small, I believe under two per cent.

Now, we have many organizations who help make those boys more comfortable. You all know about the Red Cross. The Canadian Red Cross has done splendid work. I know that Colonel Marshall is an ideal head to that institution—and I believe as far as my knowledge goes that it is excellently managed, and that it does everything that those of you who are so generous in supporting it expect and think that it ought to be. We have Colonel Hodgetts there in London at the head of it, an excellent officer ; and Lady Drummond has charge of the section that looks after the wounded men in the hospital. Every wounded man when he arrives in England is given a card with the address of the Canadian Red Cross so that he may communicate with them, and then a visitor is sent to make a personal visit to each one of those men as soon as possible in order to make him feel that somebody is personally interested in him so that they may write to his relatives at home ; then anything they can do to assist and make him more comfortable they do. Mrs. Bulkeley is looking after the work regarding our prisoners in Germany. We have to send them food to supplement their scanty rations there, because unfortunately the Germans do not treat our men whom they hold as prisoners the same way that we do theirs ; and that office is well managed too. We have the Canadian War Contingent Association—each one of the Dominions has such an Association, Australia and New Zealand similarly. Our Association is made up of Canadians in London, and Mr. Comber, who for years was in the High Commissioner's office, a most capable man, is really the governing manager of it, and gives more than half his time to it; although I am nominally President of it, he does all the work. That Association was formed for the purpose of providing comforts for our men in the firing line—our men who are well. Under the Geneva Convention the Red Cross can only do that for wounded men. We must look after our wounded men ; it is our solemn duty to do so ; but it is the fellow who is well who is going to win this war, and we must try and make him comfortable, hence this Association was formed for that purpose. We are working with the Red Cross ; they help us a good deal. We have been helped largely from Canada, but the greater part of this money has been raised in London. If the war continues much longer you will find an appeal for Canadians to help this Canadian Contingent Association. We send those boys baseball outfits, footballs, gramaphones, carbolic soap, tooth brushes, odds and ends of that kind, and try to make their lives a little more comfortable than they otherwise would be. They are very grateful for all those things, and from what I hear of the result of this work at the front, they appreciated it greatly and it has done a lot of good. Then we have the Maple Leaf Club and other Clubs in London where our fellows can go, which are more like a home. We found that these chaps coming over from the front had no home in London ; many of them came straight from the trenches, leaving there in the morning at 3 or 4 o'clock and getting into London at night dirty, covered with mud, sometimes with various visitors on them—and the hotels did not want to take them in, so we started the Maple Leaf Club in a house given by a lady in London for that purpose. The money was subscribed by people in London and over here. The ladies have been running it ; Lady Drummond had a good deal to do with it, and my wife has been working at it. The boys are taken in and given a bath and a change of clothes right away, and they are only charged three shillings a day for their bed and meals. They are made comfortable and at home, and the house has been filled from the beginning, so that we have had to take an annex, and other clubs are going to be started. Canadians have the first claim, but any Australian or New Zealander or South African was welcome also, so we started the Peel House Club, where they used to train the Police, and more Australians and New Zealanders go there, although our men do so also. Then we have the Victoria League for those men, but the Maple Leaf is more distinctively Canadian than any of them, and they have done good in keeping our fellows off the street and out of mischief and making them feel at home and more comfortable than they otherwise would be. All our Canadian ladies are doing some kind of work over there—working at the hospital, at the canteen or tea room or something of that kind—all voluntarily, and it is good for them, giving them something to occupy their time, and they are doing excellent work in that direction.

In closing I would say that what I have said about the cheerfulness and courage of our men applies equally well to those from the other Dominions and to the British. The British Army to-day is a citizen army just like our own. Practically all of the men in the original regular army are either wounded or missing, and the British who are put up to-day to fight this offensive against the Germans are volunteer troops of Britain. One of the greatest benefits we will get out of this horrible mess is the closer co-operation from the mingling together of men from all the different parts of this Empire, which we all need so much. We want to better understand each other, and if we are going to keep the Empire going we must know each other better. Our men are mingling in the battlefield, in the hospital, in these clubs and in many other ways, and this is all helping ; and it may very well be that some day history will relate of the Kaiser, even, that this awful horror which he brought on the world has really helped to bring about what you in this Empire Club want so much—the consolidation of our Empire.

Sir William Mulock moved vote of thanks to the speaker, which was seconded by Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C.

CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION IN MEN TO THE IMPERIAL NAVY

AN ADDRESS BY CAPT. HON. RUPERT GUINNESS C.B., M.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
October 5, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—My object to-day is to get your people interested in my mission, which is to get men for the Royal Navy. It seems odd that we should come this distance to get men, but you must realize that every man in England is under discipline to-day, either a soldier or sailor, or because he cannot be spared from the munitions factory. Therefore, where are we to get men to man the ships that are now coming off the stocks? We can only do it by robbing the army, and by doing that we are not helping the Allies unless we can get men who have had no previous training. Therefore the Admiralty, seeing that difficulty, sent me out here, and very generously the Canadian Government made an offer which is to-day in force—that men can be enlisted as a part of and as a force in the Canadian Organization—the Royal Canadian Foreign Reserve—and those men, as soon as they are enlisted and as soon as ships can take them, are going to their English depots where they will be trained. There are three such depots in England, and a very short training will suffice to see them on our battleships. I am proud to be here, because I am the senior naval veteran, and this badge I am wearing shows that I am an A.D.C. to the King; that honour has been given me as the senior Royal Naval Reservist. I presume we were given that because the branches of the service of which we are the senior officers have not been found wanting.

The men of my force were all landsmen, many of them bank clerks. Every class of men you can think of would be represented in that force, and though many of the men of my original force were lost at Antwerp the same sort of men had been tried again, people who have enlisted since the war and are now serving, and evidently with success. The thing I am most proud of after my eleven years' service as a naval officer is that the landsmen really could be made use of, and very rapidly, when they get on to the ship. They were quite happy ; in fact we had most flattering speeches from no less a person than from Admiral Jellicoe, who said he did not want anything better than our men if they had to increase the personnel of the fleet. That is the same sort of men that I am here to-day to get. It is enough for me that the officers and admirals of the fleet say that they are good enough ; and therefore they sent me here, and hence I want you to help me to get them. I need your help, because we have not got an awful lot of time; they want 2,000 men by the end of the year. Of course it is from the whole of Canada, but when you realize how far even you who live so close to the lake are from the sea, and how difficult it is to get into the mind of the ordinary man what a battleship is like, what the condition of service is, when one realizes what a vast proportion of the population has already gone to serve in this great struggle for civilization, one is appalled at the short time. Therefore I want every one of you, as far as you possibly can, to help me. Commodore Jarvis is going to organize the recruiting, and I ask you to help him in every way you can, and not least by trying to make people realize what the navy is, not only what it does. Describe a battleship if you can. Realize it as near as you can. You may see a long way off a low shape—apparently low—and you approach it gradually, and as you come nearer it stands up until you are alongside of it, and then you find it is as tall as the very building we are in now, if not taller, out of the sea, and yet it is as long as you saw before. That great gray mass has inside it a thousand men or more, living in wonderfully sanitary conditions, which they must live under or they would not live at all ; and inside that mass is the machinery by which you can propel that heavy mass to travel at 20 to 30 miles an hour, carrying vast guns that will throw projectiles containing tons of metal at least 12 to 18 miles. It can do that while the ship is in motion, and though she may seem fast she takes up the motion of the ocean and that does not make it any easier for the gunner to get his object, and yet it has been done. I believe we have sunk a battleship 18 miles distant—practically out of sight. One cannot appreciate the enormous distances at which those battles are fought ; but I want everyone of you listening to me to-day to do your best to educate the community—you who have been constantly devoting your whole attention to the army as the necessary spear-head, but now you must look to the shaft that carries that spear-head ; and as a matter of fact that shaft grows ; it has doubled itself since the outbreak of war—and in its growing it is necessary to have more men to man those ships. The personnel is already doubled before I left England, and it is continually increasing by the natural process of more ships being put in the water, to say nothing of the inevitable losses not only in battle but by the inevitable wear and tear of 300,000 men living in war conditions in those vast machines that are operating.

Now, gentlemen, get into your heads that we want men, healthy, enthusiastic men, whether they have or have not seen the sea before. They are to serve in the Canadian forces ; they are to be sent immediately to the depots in England ; and they are to be nearly as physically fit as the army requires ; but we want them as keen and as enthusiastic, and men who will learn rapidly. Gentlemen, help us to get that before the mass of the people quickly. Your country is enormous, and it is impossible to have officers in every town and village, and this work can be done only by you who can help to bring home to the people the need for a picked fleet.

Then again, it is well that you should realize that these great ships reveal great traditions of the past. It is shrouded in mystery. Every sailor at 8 o'clock in the morning when the beautiful grace is said, stands still while the flag is hoisted, and every officer salutes, because they say that that is a tradition that has come down from pre-Reformation time when Mass was said on the quarter-deck. So even now, to-day every officer and man as he comes to the quarter-deck salutes, for by the practice of hundreds of years the habit had become so strong to salute the crucifix that stood on the quarter-deck—a strong tradition that could last so long. Yet you have another body of history in the crews of those ships. They are not all blue-jackets ; they are not all one force ; but the regiment of soldiers raised, I think, in 1680 still serves in those ships. You have the Royal Marines ; and though the Royal Marine Artillery practically do the same work on the day of battle as the blue-jacket, yet you have that great tradition going on. What is it ? It is that in those days merchant vessels were converted to fight the King's battles, and soldiers were put in them to stiffen the fighting quality and the work of the guns. In those days you sent soldiers into your ships, and the men who worked and sailed the ships were civilian sailors, as it were. There is no difference. You come back practically to the beginning of military history as we know it to-day. Those men are there ; they represent their traditions to this day. The merchants are soldiers and sailors too, but it represents the day when you had to have a stiffening of soldiers, when you had no professional sailors in the sense of professional Royal Navy sailor ; and that is going on to this day. It is a wonderful tradition. It is one that, as far as I can see, must appeal strongly to anyone, because there in those ships you have the very latest science. No engine of war is missing there. Surely it is an education in itself; and in appealing to the Empire Club I need hardly say that if you can send from Canada 2,000 to 5,000 men while the war lasts, or as long as the necessities of the case should be, it will surely help to strengthen the bonds of Empire.

You have a difficult problem before you in settling what you will do. You were on the point of doing it before the war, but you have got to do it for yourselves. I am not here to give you advice. But will not those men who have served in the fleet help you to form your opinion as to what you should do in having a navy of your own? They will give a training and colour to public opinion. But we cannot get those men without your help to-day. It is not a Canadian force; it is an Empire force, it is a force that will fight in those battleships to defend the Empire.

In conclusion I want to remind you that Canada's strength is being felt in Europe to-day; but I want to appeal to you to do all you can with Canada's strength, and help to maintain that navy by which alone Canada's strength was able to get as far as Europe.

A hearty vote of thanks was moved by Lieut.-Col. Merritt and seconded by Mr. Aemilius Jarvis.

THE GREAT WAR

AN ADDRESS BY HON. W. H. HEARST, K.C., M.P.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
October 19, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am not going to attempt anything in the way of a speech, but will simply try to tell you some of the things I saw and the impressions I received in connection with the great struggle in which we are now engaged, on my recent visit to England and France.

I desire to say at the outset that all I saw and heard while away increased my admiration for the British people and my appreciation of their bull-dog determination, perseverance and pluck; but it also increased, if that were possible, my admiration for the officers and men of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces.

As a Canadian I was delighted and proud to find the splendid reputation our Canadian soldiers have made everywhere for themselves and for Canada. Their reputation for valour and efficiency is not surpassed, yes, I can safely say is not equalled, by any troops engaged in the present war, and not only the British people, but our Allies and our enemies as well, bear testimony to the splendid fighting qualities, the resourcefulness and courage of our Canadian soldiers.

When the British Guards were entrusted with the task of leading the recent great offensive on the Somme, they asked to have Canadians associated with them, the highest tribute our men could receive.

Public men and citizens generally in the old land are unbounded in their praise of the conduct, character, physical and fighting qualities of the Canadians. Lloyd George, in discussing with me the other day what Canada had done, grew eloquent as he described the clear eyes, the splendid carriage, determined manner and swinging step of the Canadians that meant victory. He said that seventy-five per cent. of the Canadians he had seen were fit for the Guards. He spoke in enthusiastic terms of the splendid work Canadians had done in the battle line and said that in the two most crucial engagements of the war Canadians had saved the day and that under the most trying circumstances, and against weapons never before used in warfare. His closing statement to me was, "I cannot find words to pay sufficient tribute to their conduct generally."

But not only have our fighting men done nobly, our doctors, our nurses, our engineers, our lumber men, our contractors, and Canadians from all walks of life who have taken part in this war have made reputations for their professions and callings and have advertised Canada and what Canadians can do to England and the world.

The doctors from this country, who are giving their services to the great cause, have made a name for the Canadian medical profession throughout the world, and our Canadian nurses are entitled to equal, if not even greater credit and praise. The British people are loud in their praise of what our doctors and nurses have accomplished, and of the manner in which our hospitals are conducted in England and France, and both the English and the French are glad to copy our system and methods. As an example of what medical skill and science has done in this work I might point out that I was informed on good authority that there had only been one death from typhoid fever among all the troops that have gone overseas from Canada, and that was a case in which the soldier had refused to be inoculated. We have only to compare this with the record of other wars to understand what medical science is doing for our men in this struggle.

Canada is particularly to the front in special work for the restoration of men who have been broken down from the effects of wounds or sickness, or who are suffering from shock. I visited hospitals doing this special work at Monkshorton, Ramsgate, and elsewhere, and it is simply marvellous what is being done at these institutions to fit men for the strain of active service again, and where that is not possible to make them as fit as possible for other walks of life.

I visited dozens of Canadian hospitals in England and a number in France. Every one of these hospitals had splendid medical and nursing staffs and every possible arrangement was provided for the comfort and welfare of the patients, and what I want to make as emphatic as possible is that the friends of our brave wounded fellows can rest satisfied that everything medical skill and nursing can do for their loved ones is being done. Not only do our sick and wounded receive the best care and treatment that can be afforded by ordinary hospitals, but where special troubles arise, such as impaired sight or hearing, they are sent to hospitals equipped for treatment of troubles of these kinds, where they receive the attention of the best nursing and medical experts procurable.

Then, we have our Convalescent Homes, to which soldiers are sent when they are able to leave the regular hospitals. Some of the finest country homes in England have been turned over for this purpose. I visited a number of these where the lady of the house herself was acting as matron and directing and conducting the establishment with skill and ability and, in every case that came under my attention, displaying the greatest possible concern for the welfare, comfort and happiness of the patients. And everywhere I found these English ladies, English nurses and their assistants, loud in their praise of the patience, fortitude and gentlemanly conduct of our men. The invariable story I heard from these English women was,—"Your Canadian soldiers are such splendid fellows, they never murmur nor complain, no matter how great the suffering may be," and the further tribute that they are always gentlemen.

I visited thousands of Canadians in hospitals in different parts of England and wherever possible asked the men privately how they were being looked after and if there was anything they wanted, and I never once received a complaint; and no matter how serious the wound, or how great the suffering I invariably found the men in good spirits and without a murmur.

As an example of the splendid spirit these fellows display, I might mention one case I found at Beechborough. The poor fellow had lost both legs, the sight of one eye and had a deep bullet wound in the forehead between his eyes. It seemed to be impossible that a bullet could strike a man in the forehead as this man had been struck and not prove fatal. The doctors informed me that the bone in a man's forehead is pretty heavy, and had saved this fellow's life. Notwithstanding his terrible maimed condition and the suffering through which he had passed, he was the jolliest man in the whole hospital and in fact was the life of his ward. I asked him how he received his wounds. He replied that he had had both his legs shot off and was lying on the ground when a German came along and thought he was not moving fast enough and gave him a bullet in his head, expecting to finish him, but he fooled them after all.

All the hospitals I saw, both in England and France, were comfortably and well equipped, and every provision possible under the circumstances made for the convenience of the patients. I am sure you will pardon me if I say a word about the Ontario Military Hospital at Orpington, a hospital built and maintained by you gentlemen and the other generous people of the Province of Ontario. I can say without boasting or fear of contradiction that the building, equipment and general arrangement of this hospital are not surpassed by any hospital in England, and I believe that the work being done there is as good as the best. A committee of experts visited England and France for the purpose of inspecting and reporting on War hospitals, and out of the hundreds visited chose this hospital as the one best adapted for the purposes for which it was used, and Ontario's hospital is now being adopted as a model for others. This hospital and its excellent staff of highly educated doctors and nurses, many of whom come from your own city, have not only done much for the sick and wounded, but have also done much to advertise Ontario in that part of England, and I also desire to add that if you could see, as I have seen, the comforts, help and blessing this institution affords to thousands of our wounded heroes, you would never regret the contribution you have made to it through the Ontario War Tax.

When the war broke out I felt everything we could do for our men, and particularly the privates who might be wounded or become sick, should be done, and I instructed Ontario's Agent-General in London to see that the men from Ontario in English hospitals were visited and their wants supplied so far as possible. Major Clark, well known to some of you, was assigned to this work, and Major Clark to-day is known and loved in every hospital in England where men from Ontario are patients, for his sympathy and kindly acts and ministrations; and in the London Office we have on file thousands of letters from relatives of men visited by Major Clark, thanking him for his assistance and attention, and I want the people of Ontario who have sons or friends overseas to know and understand that the Ontario Office in London is at your disposal to render any service or assistance that may be required, and particularly to look after any men that are sick or wounded. Last year through the Ontario Office in London we distributed to the hospitals for the sick and wounded, for the men of the fleet, and for Canadian prisoners in Germany, a large quantity of apples and fruit of different kinds. This fruit was not only enjoyed by our men, but was the means of advertising Ontario in England as a fruit country. The English people could scarcely believe their own eyes when they saw the splendid character of the apples and other fruits we produced in this country. We intend to carry on this work to even a greater extent this year.

While our wounded and suffering are properly our first care, all our men are entitled to our thought and consideration, and too much cannot be done to make the lives of our brave soldiers as comfortable as possible. In this connection the Maple Leaf Club, under the direction of Lady Drummond and her excellent voluntary Committee, are doing a splendid work. Cost of living is very high in London, and large numbers of Canadians on leave from the front, from the training camps, or after discharge from hospitals before returning to their units, are constantly in London. It is difficult, with the money at the command of the privates, to secure good respectable places to stop at; and even when they have the money, being strangers in London, they do not know where to go to secure the kind of accommodation they want. These clubs furnish the men with good clean beds and wholesome meals and a change of underclothing at a moderate cost, and best of all, furnish healthy amusements, good companionship and healthy surroundings morally and every other way. Representatives of these Clubs meet the men at the trains and conduct them to the club premises. The work in connection with the running of these clubs is done largely, if not entirely voluntarily, and you will find titled ladies washing dishes or doing other house-work beside their sisters in humbler stations of life, but who are no less heroic or less self-sacrificing. The men appreciate the provision made for them very greatly, and many a young man is saved from the temptations with which London abounds and kept from serious trouble, by means of these clubs. When I was there the club was seriously handicapped for lack of room. Scores of soldiers had to be turned away every night and I felt the money of the people of the Province could not be better spent than in providing a respectable home for our men when in London, and I consequently undertook to rent and fit up on behalf of the people of the Province, two additional houses for the work of the Club. These buildings will provide accommodation for 350 or

400 more men and since my return I have been advised by cable that one of these houses has already been opened and is full to the capacity. Lady Drummond writes,—"I can now sleep much more comfortably in my own bed, knowing that our brave defenders have some safe and suitable place to sleep when they are in London." The Club, out of the funds at their disposal, are fitting up another building and when these premises are all ready the Committee hopes to be able to supply a home to all our men who need one when in London. I can assure you that this institution is doing an excellent work and is entitled to every support and consideration. The I.O.D.E. in Canada has taken an active interest in and has greatly helped in this good work, and, in fact, the good work of Mrs. Gooderham and the Daughters of the Empire is in evidence on every hand. The Daughters of the Empire Hospital at Hyde Park Place, London, is a credit to that organization and to Canada.

"THE BRITISH FLEET"

Among the most pleasant and interesting days of my visit to the Old Land were those spent at Portsmouth visiting the naval shops and yards and the submarines, and in visiting the fleet. I was privileged to inspect the very latest designs of British submarines, some just ready to be placed in commission. These are the most wonderful productions of the designer and mechanic I have ever seen in my life, and one is at a loss to understand how so much machinery of all kinds can be compressed into such small spaces. The shops at Portsmouth are models in many respects, airy, comfortable, sanitary. Quite a large percentage of the labour engaged in these shops are women. They seem industrious and efficient and the testimony I received from here as elsewhere from employers of labour was that the employment of women in munition factories and factories generally was a distinct success.

As I looked at Nelson's old Flag Ship the Victory still floating intact, proud and trim in Portsmouth harbour, and compared her with the latest vessels designed by the naval architects of to-day, I was struck with the great change one hundred years had wrought in the character of our fighting ships, and wondered what the feelings of Nelson would be if he could look down upon the present British Navy that maintains the supremacy of the seas that he so bravely won. One thing, however, is certain that the same splendid spirit that actuated Nelson and his men and secured the splendid victory of Trafalgar, actuates the officers and men of the British Navy to-day: and Nelson's famous message still rings in the ear and guides the conduct of all British seamen. The privilege I was allowed of sailing through the British Fleet in the North, and closely inspecting the same, was a delightful one indeed and helped to impress upon me the strength and mighty power of the British Navy more than anything else could do. It was with real joy as a Briton that I walked upon the decks and examined the war scars of the Tiger, the Warspite, the Princess Royal and other splendid vessels that have played important parts in the present struggle, and it was with pride and satisfaction that I heard from the lips of the gallant Sir David Beatty himself the story of the Jutland fight, the Heligoland battle and other naval engagements of the war; and you felt that with such splendid vessels and such skilful and confident men to man them, there could be no doubt as to the supremacy of Great Britain on the high seas. The one wish and desire, from the Admiral to the common seaman was for another opportunity, and that at an early date, to try conclusions with the German fleet when conditions would allow a fight to the finish. Sir David Beatty, like the chivalrous fighter he is, gave due credit to the Germans for their bravery and marksmanship, but you could see the light of battle in his eye when he told how bravely his officers and men had played their part in the Jutland fight; and how a cruiser at Heligoland had run in, and out of sheer contempt for the German navy, fired at the German fortifications when the enemy had a vastly superior force of ships and guns at their command than he had, if they had only had the nerve and courage to go out and show him battle. He pointed with some pride to the fact that while the accuracy of the fire of the Germans decreased as the battle waxed warm and the enemy began to receive punishment, that of his fleet increased as long as the guns were in commission. He also pointed out the interesting fact that in the Jutland fight some of the vessels attained a greater rapidity of gun fire than had been attained in any trial in the history of the fleet, striking proof of the training, skill and coolness of the men and the perfection of the ships, guns and machinery. One of the officers whose position and duties enabled him to obtain a bird's-eye view of the battle, said it was one of the most magnificent sights he believes human eyes ever witnessed. He says the British Fleet carried out the plan of battle as steadily and accurately as it was ever done on review; and as the big battleships came up, each falling into its place in the battle line, belching forth fire from every gun with an accuracy and rapidity beyond belief, the scene was indescribable. Only a few minutes more of clear light and the German Fleet would have been totally annihilated and Germany's naval power destroyed, but unfortunately a mist obscured the rapidly retreating German ships from the British gunners and robbed the British of that absolute and complete victory that was almost within their grasp. To-day Britain's Fleet is stronger than ever before, and adding to its strength at a rate that is unbelievable. Jutland's naval fight was Germany's much heralded victory. May the Germans obtain many such victories before the war is over; but before they obtain many such their fleet would be entirely wiped out.

In this far off land we hardly appreciate what we owe to the navy and to the splendid men that in heat and cold, in storm and shine, keep the trade routes of the world open, guard the heart of the Empire and enable us to travel in comfort and safety on the high seas, and if there is one class of British seamen more than another that excited my admiration and respect it was the sailors who man the destroyers and submarines. No one can understand the discomfort and hardships with which these men have to contend until you see the conditions with your own eyes, and no one can understand the great service these ships and men are doing until you recognize the protecting care that enables you to travel safely through dangerous waters. Britannia rules the waves as certainly and as surely to-day as at any time in her history; and so long as her ships are manned by men of the character, ability and heroism that man them to-day, so long will she continue to rule the waves.

A VISIT TO THE FRONT

My trip to the front was one of intense interest and satisfaction. Again I saw a demonstration of the strength and ever-watchful eye of the British navy. As soon as our vessel moved from Folkestone Pier destroyers appeared on either bow of our ship scouting for submarines and dangers of all kinds and protecting from harm the soldiers on their way to the trenches. Referring to the Navy again, and as another proof of the efficiency of that service, one of the Commanding Officers of a Canadian Battalion told me with great satisfaction that when his brigade was crossing to England he was informed by the Captain of the transport that at twelve o'clock noon on the second day out from Liverpool they would be met by destroyers and convoyed into harbour; and that not only to the appointed minute, but to the appointed second, two destroyers appeared out of the trackless unmarked ocean and took their position on either side of the transport, and convoyed them safely to Port. By such efficiency and vigilance nearly 300,000 troops have been conveyed from Canada across the Atlantic, and a very large number across the channel without the loss of a single man, and parents and friends whose loved ones are now on the sea, or soon to sail to take their places alongside their brothers in the battle line, may feel little concern because of the might, efficiency, and the eternal vigilance of the British Fleet have rendered the German fleet impotent.

What I saw of our Canadians at the front served to emphasize still more their qualities as fighting men and their devotion to duty. I doubt if the annals of history contain the record of greater heroism, or a deeper sense of duty and sacrifice than that displayed day in and day out by our Canadian soldiers.

In the past while ofttimes men have gone to battle freely and voluntarily for a great cause, and from the call of conscience, they often have gone for the lust of battle, for the hope of plunder, for the love of adventure, for the avenging of a personal wrong, or for personal freedom.

None of these things move our Canadian men. They pray for the day when they can return to Canada and the loved ones they have left behind, but from a sense of duty and duty alone, these men are fighting, fighting with bravery and skill not surpassed in all the ages. No thought of quitting, no regrets for the action they took when freely and voluntarily they assumed the task, and shouldered the burdens of the fights for freedom, determined to fight, to fight with every ounce of their strength until Kaiserism is destroyed.

Their spirit and conduct is superb wherever you see them, at their grim work in the trenches, coming out of the trenches after their turn, weary, mud stained, with clothing often torn and tattered on their way to rest billets. Wherever you found them, whether at work or at play, and no matter what privations or hardships they were suffering, you found them cheerful, jolly, uncomplaining, determined, with one thought, one purpose to fight on until final and complete victory is obtained, no matter what their own fate might be. No wonder Earl Curzon said in an address delivered in London a few days ago,—"If in this war there were any of our fellow subjects who in the superlative degree might he said to have shown the loyalty of the loyal and the bravery of the brave, these were our fellow-subjects from the Dominion." I received many messages of comfort and good cheer from the men at the front to the folks at home but not one message of complaint or despondency. I saw a number of Canadian troops, including the 75th Toronto Battalion, on their long and trying march from the Ypres Salient to the Somme, and I never looked upon a finer body of men. They knew the ordeal before them and the inferno to which they were going, but not a man wavered, not a man faltered, all eager for the conflict. Every man I saw, officer and private alike, was a hero. Alas, already many of these men lie maimed or wounded. Many have made the supreme sacrifice, and the soil of Flanders is still more sacred to us for it has once again run red with the blood of Canada's best and bravest. Our voices shake and words completely fail if we try to pay a proper tribute to our heroic dead. To the fathers, mothers, wives and loved ones of those who have gone we extend our sympathy, but I bid the sorrowing ones to weep not, if your loved ones could speak to you from their hallowed tombs on that far off battlefield, their message would be one of good cheer. They died like heroes all with their faces to the foe and their feet to the field. The brave die not ; their memories live forever stimulating us to deeds of courage and nobility.

As a Canadian, with reverence I bowed my head before the splendid spirit of heroism and devotion exhibited by our Canadian men. Before their heroic deeds and suffering our troubles and sorrows at home must be silenced. No wonder the Canadians have made a name for themselves and for Canada; and the call comes to us as never in the history of the world before to live noble, unselfish and sacrificing lives. Unless we give and give with a full and free heart everything that may strengthen and help our men, unless we provide and provide generously for their families and loved ones at home, we are not worthy of the splendid fellows who are fighting, alas, many of them dying for freedom and for us. Let us strive at least in some degree to measure up to the standard of citizenship, service and devotion to a great cause set by our men in the field.

"PROGRESS OF THE WAR"

A much greater feeling of satisfaction and confidence prevailed in England with reference to the war when I left than when I first went over. The addition of Roumania to the number of the Allies and the splendid successes that have attended the present offensive on the Somme front have satisfied the people beyond all question of doubt that complete victory is assured for the allied countries. Sir William Robertson's words to me were,—"I am beginning to see around the corner, I can't quite see around it yet, but I soon will," and in this connection I simply desire to say that Sir William Robertson has won, and I believe rightly won the confidence of the people in a very marked degree.

Shells and munitions so badly needed at the commencement of the war are now going forward in abundance, and the Germans are outclassed by the British artillery and are beginning to feel something of what the British suffered in the early stages of the war. To illustrate the changed conditions, Lloyd George pointed out to me that in one week now they are turning out in Great Britain three times as many shells as they had in the whole line of communication a year ago last July.

Great Britain has also secured complete mastery in the air, and Germans, man to man in bayonet fighting or hand to hand encounters, are no match for the Imperials, the Canadians or Australians. In fact, they do not wait to try conclusions with the British troops when there is a chance of a hand to hand fighting. While the Zeppelins in their raids upon England never had any success from a military standpoint, it was more or less a matter of irritation to an Englishman to feel that these monster air ships could cross over his land at all, and it is a source of great satisfaction to him now that they are able to successfully wage war on the murderers of helpless women and children. While there is no doubt of the ultimate result, the end is not yet near and there must be no slackening; but, on the contrary, a great increase in effort if the end is to be gained as quickly as it should. More men and more munitions is the cry. I asked Lloyd George in what way could Ontario best serve the allied cause apart from what we are now doing. His immediate answer was,—"Send us more men. It is the side that will be able to throw fresh troops into the field when the other is exhausted that will ultimately win this war: and we look more and more to our overseas dominions, particularly to Canada and Australia, for the help that is required." I do not believe that at any stage of the war did the call come to Canada more insistent than it does to-day to help in every way possible, so that the end may be hastened and the terrible loss of life we are suffering brought to an end.

I am sure we are all agreed throughout the Empire, men of the Old Land as well as men of the New, that this must be a fight to the finish,—that there can be no compromise. Nothing but a lasting, complete and final victory will satisfy. The blood of our fallen heroes must not have been shed in vain, and our children, or our children's children, must not be called on to fight this battle over again. The more men we send, the better we equip them, the more guns and munitions we supply, and the better the camps and hospital arrangements we furnish, the sooner the end will come, and the less the loss of blood and treasure will be. There is a great work for all of us to do.

The people of Great Britain are setting themselves more strongly to the task,—England is awake,—a journalist writing from Berlin the other day said she would not sleep again unless it was the sleep of death. Great Britain is not going to sleep the sleep of death, but she will emerge from this titanic struggle, nobler, better and stronger than ever. It is Prussian autocracy, Prussian brutality and Prussian ambitions that will sleep the sleep of death.

Five weeks' sojourn in England and France with the knowledge it brought and the evidence it afforded of the grim struggle in which we are engaged and the tremendous issues that are involved, the opportunity of personally seeing the toil, the suffering, the sacrifice and heroism of the men in the trenches and the havoc and woe the war has wrought in all directions in Europe,—the sight of the wounded, the maimed the suffering and the dying in the hospitals of France and England,—the list of the Empire's bravest and best sons that have given life itself in the struggle for liberty; all have impressed upon me the necessity for greater sacrifice, greater earnestness, greater exertion on the part of all of us if we are to measure up to what the Empire and our men in the field have a right to expect of us.

Many of us are following our daily avocations but little inconvenienced and little disturbed by the terrible conflict upon which not only the future of the British Empire, but the future happiness of the world depends. It is surely time that we took the war more seriously to heart even than we have yet done; and bend every energy and make every sacrifice that may be necessary to supply more men and more munitions and to support and strengthen our men in every way possible in the field, care for the wounded and disabled, and help and care for the families and dependents of those who are fighting in the trenches and for those who have fallen in the battle.

Let us see to it in this thrice-favoured Province of Ontario, and this great City of Toronto, that we fail not in this great crisis of our history. Let us set an example of patriotism and devotion that will be held noble in every section of the Great British Empire, and in every Country lined up with us in the struggle for the freedom of the world.

A vote of thanks was heartily carried.

CRADLE LANDS OF CANADIAN INDIANS

AN ADDRESS BY VERY REV. W. R. HARRIS, D.D., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
Oct. 26, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Before entering upon the subject of this morning's address and, as forming an introduction to the address itself, allow me to briefly review the theories advanced in efforts to explain the existence of primitive man on our continent.

Some writers, following Ballet in his "Réponses Critiques," regard the American Indians as autochtons, or as a distinct race evolved from or created in America, and independent of that existing at any time in other continents. Lord Gainsborough was of the opinion that our Indians are descendants of a remnant of a pre-Noachic race of men who escaped the diluvian cataclysm, and are now the most ancient people in existence. Plausible arguments and ingenious sophistries have been made on behalf of a Chinese, Welsh and Japanese immigration. The French anthropologist, Campones, favoured an early Carthagenian colony; while Kircher and Huet contended that the Indians of America are of Egyptian origin. Sir William Jones says they are descendants of Asiatic Indians, and a few of our American antiquaries hold that they are the sons and daughters of the lost tribes of Israel.

Humbolt in his "Essai Politique" was of the opinion that the Mexican Indians are the descendants of the Hiongnoos, who are said, in the Chinese annals, to have emigrated under their leader, Puno, and to have entered northern Siberia and were never again heard of.

Malte-Brun after a minute investigation concludes that tribes connected with the Finnish, Ostiac, Permian and Caucasian families, passing along the borders of the Frozen Ocean, and crossing over Behring's Straits spread themselves in different directions towards Greenland and Chili, and that other tribes allied to the Japanese and Chinese, proceeding along the coast, penetrated to Mexico.

Again, we are confronted with innumerable volumes tracing the origin of the Indians to Canaanites, Phœnicians, Monguls, Malays and Scythians. Many who have written on the subject are of the opinion that America received its first inhabitants from islands which lie between the extremities of Asia and America, that is to say, from Yezo, Gama's Land, and other lands, including a cluster of isles, possibly the Aleutian Islands.

Then there is the "Lamanite Myth" of the "Book of Mormon" recording the sailing of Nephi, the prohet, with his sons and daughters from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the coast of South America—600 years before the Christian era.

Amid the confusion of opinions and theories written on the subject we are not then surprised that some writers of the last century should have taken a shorter method to solve the problem by asserting that America had its own population independent of any other continent.

All these suppositions are now relegated to oblivion by students of American ethnology and their ghosts will not, presumably, walk again.

The theory of a submerged continent which in past ages, was inhabited by a civilized people—a land which stretched across the Atlantic from Europe and Africa to America—is now admitted by many scientists to be the only satisfactory solution of the problem involving the origin of the American Indian. Scott Elliott in his book—"The Story of Atlantis" and Henry Scharf in his "Origin of Life in America," supports this contention with very plausible, if not convincing arguments.

The study of ethnology and the search for truth is surely a noble occupation. But when the study is conducted upon severe principles, and with the aid of deep research, it will be found to combine the intellectual enjoyment of the mathematician with the rapture of the poet, and ever to open new sources of interest and delight.

While endeavouring to trace our Canadian Indians back to their cradle lands you will permit me to invite your attention to a description of these lands and their inhabitants before the daring Genoese sailed on his wondrous voyage of discovery.

THE ANCIENT CITY OF PALENQUE, CHIAPAS

I well remember the evening hours I passed alone amid the ruins of the pre-Columbian City of Palenque, near the boundary of Yucatan. Everywhere around me were the gruesome memorials of a civilization and a religion which may have escaped the Noachic deluge, but perished and passed away, as all civilizations and gentile religions by a mysterious law of disintegration, vanish and disappear.

The repose, the stillness, the loneliness and abandonment of the dead city oppressed me with their burden of isolation and sadness. The sombre buildings—the abode of the scorpion and the centipede—the mutilated and wondrous statuary groups, where the cunning of the sculptor gave to the inert stone all the warmth and vitality of life ; the shattered altars and fallen pillars, the utter silence and loneliness shrouding tablets, walls and columns, brought back to my mind memories of the ruined cities of Thebes, of Karnac and Babylon. But the changeless dark green of the foliage, the hue of the moss and the gloomy shadings of the buildings of Palenque, wrap in sadness this ancient city in a shroud that only a tropic land and a tropic climate may weave.

The epigraphic signs on the tablets of stone, the unfamiliar stone faces, the hieroglyphic sculpture on sepulchral walls, and, above all, the heavy odour of decomposing tropical vegetation, separate this phantom in the wilderness from the fallen cities of other lands, and give to it a character of its own and an entity unlike anything seen in Europe or in Asia.

Everywhere around me were ruins out of which came the tamarind trees stirred by the breath of desert breezes and caressed by desert air, and no one, absolutely no one but myself, at that hour and in this weird and lonely place to contemplate the wreck and ruin of avenging time. Around me and upon all sides were heaps of ruins, ghastly in their isolation and silence, for even the stone faces had a solemn sadness like unto the faces of those bereaved of their beloved.

These gigantic stones, the cyclopian walls, the colossal pillars were painful reminders of a race conquered by the foe, by plague, or annihilated by the vengeance of God. The volcano of Masaya, in the sister state of Guatemala, that for long years has been cold, is less majestic in the stern silence of its crater than is this dead Palenque.

The Christian philosopher devoted to the study of the past or the future, the man of faith, or of science who gazes upon these melancholy remains as he wanders among these wrecks and ruins of time, studies the weird figures and looks upon the stony faces of the unknown dead, feels through his veins, nerves and arteries an emotion of terror and awe always produced by the oppression of desert solitude, or by the colossal remains of a buried and forgotten past.

This abandoned city, with its terraces and temples, its pyramids and sculptured figures of men and women, tells more eloquently than written history of the great antiquity of the primitive civilization of the American Indian. For anything we know it may antedate all the civilizations of Egypt and Ethiopia.

MAYA TEMPLES AND STRUCTURES

In the remains of many of the pre-Columbian cities of Mexico, Chiapas and Central America we behold the most elaborate examples of sculpture and stucco ornamentation adorning the altars, panels and walls of the buildings—the work of a people skilled in architecture, drawing and painting, and beyond doubt, excelling in arts that have perished. In many of the halls still standing are arabesques, fashioned in mosaics, fret-work and delicate tracery not unworthy of a place in modern decorative art. Some of the sculptured figures are of heroic dimensions. The curiously designed reliefs, the unfamiliar figures of the altars, and the panel-work on the inner walls of Copan are not surpassed by the temple specimens of Egypt and Assyria on exhibition in Paris and London.

The pillars and stone tablets which carry hieroglyphics are remarkably well executed. These hieroglyphics, or secret writings, were executed in symbols or characters known only to the priests or learned men of the race. We have not, unfortunately, been able to decipher them, so that the characters on the monuments of Copan, Palenque, Quirigua and Mayapan furnish us no data or information. The Maya system of symbolic writing appears to be a species of mnemonics or signs to aid the memory. The hieroglyphics on the Palenque tablets—now in the National Museum, Mexico City—are in perpendicular rows, and, for aught we know, the characters may be alphabetic and stand for a written language. On these tablets we behold a wonderful system of symbolism, and to interpret it, the Aztec or Mexican picture—writing affords us no help.

Apart from the accurate and familiar descriptions of many of the temples and great buildings left us by the early Spanish writers, and of the art and splendour of Mexican structures—we have the testimony of Bernal Diaz de Castillo, a brave and rugged companion of Cortes, the Spanish conqueror, in his brilliant campaigns ending in the conquest of Mexico. In Bernal Diaz' "History of the Conquest of New Spain" we find many surprising descriptions of wonderful buildings, standing in the cities entered on the way from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. Of the city of Cempoal he writes : "We were surprised at the beauty of the buildings some of which had been lately plastered, in which art these people are very expert." He speaks of large structures and fortifications of lime and stone and he adds : "Appearances demonstrated that we had entered a new country, for the temples were very lofty and the terraced buildings and houses of the Caciques were plastered and whitewashed." Of the city of Cholula he tells us that it much resembled Valladolid in Spain. It "had a hundred lofty white towers, which were the temples of their gods. The principal temple was higher than that of Mexico and each of these buildings was placed in a spacious court." Approaching the city of Mexico, he is moved to enthusiasm by the spectacle of its grandeur. "We could compare it," he says, "to nothing but the enchanted scenes we had read of in Amadis de Gaul, from the great towers and temples and other edifices of lime and stone which seemed to rise up out of the water.

"We were received by the great lords of that country, relations of Montezuma, who conducted us to our quarters which were palaces magnificently built of stone, the timber of which was cedar, with spacious courts and apartments hung with canopies of the finest cotton. The whole was ornamented with works of art, painted, and admirably plastered and whitened, and it was rendered more delightful by numbers of beautiful birds."

While reading this "true history," as Diaz calls his book, we must remember that it was written at a time when there were many living who could contradict him if incorrect or false, and when Aztec civilization was declining. His history was never impeached; its fidelity and truth have been acknowledged by all contemporaneous and subsequent historians. Having visited in Yucatan, Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras the ruins of these pre-Columbian cities, I am satisfied that his descriptions are as true and reliable as those given in any of our accredited books of travel.

And, as if to corroborate the records of Bernal Diaz, Professor Hiram Bingham, when he discovered in 1911 the remains of the city of Mecchu—Pichu, informs us that "the ruins are on an almost inaccessible ridge, 2,000 feet above the Urabamba river. They are of great beauty and magnificence, and include palaces, baths, temples, and about 150 houses. The huge blocks of white granite, some of them twelve feet long, were so carefully cut that they match perfectly. Though no mortar was used to hold the stones together, the walls have withstood the elements for at least 2,000 years."

Mournfully beautiful are the ruins of the Hondurian city of Copan surrounded by a forest painful in the intensity and duration of its silence. It is a phantom in a wilderness and when we demand of it to tell us how many centuries have passed away since the quarry was opened to obtain stones for the buildings; how long was the city inhabited, and when and why was it abandoned, there comes no answer to our questionings.

If, as it is now conceded by students of Central American history, the Quiches preceded the Mayas and another race antedated the Quiches and built the cities, temples and halls whose colossal remains are found all over Central America, Yucatan and Mexico, what assurances have we that many civilized communities did not successively appear, run their course, and perish in the veiled ages of prehistoric times? And by prehistoric times, I mean the ages between the creation of man and the beginning of authentic history. In order to account for the splendour and magnitude of the temples and public buildings of these cities, a centralized form of government must have existed. These wonderful structures could have been erected only by an expenditure of great labour, and under a highly organized system of superintendence. Possibly the government was an imperial autocracy, or it may have been like unto that of Greece, which was in religion and language one nation though politically a confederacy of sovereign states. The architecture and system of writing of these vanished peoples are different from those of any known race of men, ancient or modern. They are of a new order and are entirely and absolutely anomalous. They stand alone. Without models or masters from abroad their architecture originated among themselves. Their culture and refinement were not borrowed from Europe or Asia. They were a distinct and separate people existing apart from and independent of other continents, and apparently indigenous, like the animals, plants and fruits of the soil.

No analogies of art or culture assimilate the ancient civilization of America with that of any known people. Their structural designs and ornamental embellishments were their own, and yet the remains of their great buildings at Uxmal in Yucatan, Copan in Honduras and Mitla in Mexico are, to-day, as imposing and of as high an order of Architecture as are those of ancient Egypt and Assyria.

PRIMITIVE ARTS AND SCIENCE

Moreover these primitive Americans were skilled in medicine and surgery. The "Notes sur la medicine et la botanique des anciens Mexicans," published in book form lately by the Vatican Polygot Press, furnish us with many items of information that must surprise those who think that only in recent times have we made valuable discoveries in therapeutics, and that all intelligent study of disease and all permanent advance in human physiology have been made by European methods and by the men of Europe. Among the Mayas of Yucatan and among the people who were in Mexico before the invasion of the Aztecs, doctors constituted a distinct and separate society. They formed a class by themselves and the sons inherited the profession of their fathers.

They had many methods of treating disease and were familiar with diuretics, emetics, dietetics, febrifuges, emollients and vermifuges. They administered their medicines in many ways; as decoctions, infusions, oils, ointments and plasters. Certain gums and resins they applied as electuaries. They prescribed vapor baths, and varied the treatment to suit the disease or the individual patient.

The historian d'Anghiera states that in his own time, 1524, when Spanish physicians, then in Mexico, failed to cure their patients, the native doctors were sometimes called in and often succeeded where the Spanish doctors failed.

Even as late as the days of the conquest, when Maya and Aztec civilization had greatly declined, Cortes and his companions were successfully treated by native doctors, for illnesses and wounds. Cortes was so satisfied with their medical and surgical knowledge that he wrote to Madrid, saying that no European physicians were wanted in Mexico.

These native doctors anticipated modern discoveries of ether and chloroform, for they made use of the seeds of certain plants for anaesthesia and a distilled spirit for decreasing the pain of operations. Surgery, too, was practised to some extent, if we may judge by the large number of trepanned skulls found in caves in Mexico and Honduras. Their surgical instruments were probably made of bronze or obsidian.

In August, 1912, Professor Marshall Seville of Columbia University returned from Esmeraldas, Ecuador, where he passed two months excavating among the ruins of the ancient city. He brought back with him the skulls of men who dwelt in Esmeraldas five hundred years before the discovery of America. Teeth in the jaws of these heads were filled with an alloy, and crowned with metallic caps. In every instance, he assures us, the workmanship is almost the equal of the art of the modern dentist.

Bernadino Sahagun, who was contemporaneous with the conquest and who studied the system of medicine as it existed in Mexico in his time, hints even of antiseptics in his "Universal History of New Spain."

The pre-Columbian scientists of America were also diligent students of botany. When the Spaniards landed at Vera Cruz, in 1519, native botany was in advance of that of Europe. Several centuries later, the genius of Linnaeus enabled him to substitute for long and crude descriptions of plants, a concise designation—a generic name and a specific classification. But, many centuries before the time of the great botanist, these Mexican and Peruvian specialists had invented a botanical nomenclature, and a plant and herb classification, superior to those of Europe before the time of Linnaeus. They had traced the influence of temperature on plants, shrubs and flowers, and to some extent had systematized their researches. Though their botanical knowledge, compared with our own, to-day, was imperfect, we have abundant evidence to satisfy us that they had advanced far on the road to mastering the science of botany before their civilization began to decay.

They built aqueducts, constructed causeways and laid many miles of paved roads. The immense ruins which the Spanish conquerors discovered in Mexico and Central America and particularly in the riverine lands of Columbia and Uraqua ; the highways cut, in many cases—through stubborn rock or constructed of large blocks of stone ; all these with the remarkable remains of ancient canals involving great feats of engineering, prove conclusively the high plane of civilization which these mysterious people reached.

Writing of the advanced agriculture of these ancient Americans, Professor O. F. Cook, who was a member of the expedition sent to Peru, in 1915, by Yale University, says : "At a time when our ancestors in northern Europe were still utter savages, settled agricultural communities must have existed in this Peruvian region. "The native agricultural of this land" he adds, in his article which appeared in the National Geographic Magazine, May, 1916, "reached an advanced stage of reclamation projects long before America was discovered by Europeans. Our undertakings sink into insignificance in the face of what this vanished race accomplished."

"With tools made of an alloy of tin and copper," writes Prescott in his "History of the Conquest of

Mexico," "they cut not only metals, but with the aid of a silicious dust, the hardest substances, such as basalt, porphyry, amethysts and emeralds. They cast also vessels of gold and silver, carving them in a very delicate manner. They imitated very nicely the figures of animals and, what was extraordinary, could mix the metals in such a manner that the feathers of a bird or the scales of a fish should be alternately of gold and silver. The Spanish goldsmiths admitted their superiority over themselves in these ingenious works."

In Mexico and Peru copper and tin were alloyed and hardened to the consistency of iron ; gold and silver and bronze were skilfully beaten out and worked into filagree ; there were excellent images of singing birds in gold and in silver, and a profusion of gold plate.

The Department of American Antiquities in the National Museum, Mexico City, is the most notable in the world, and is a veritable treasure house of pre-Columbian relics and prehistoric "finds." In one room of this department are exhibited specimens of the famous Aztec picture writings, and Aztec maps and drawings of Tenochtillan, now the city of Mexico. Here also are arms, jewels, glazed pottery and cloth made from the fibres of heneguen and maguey plants. Beautiful examples of feather cloth woven from extremely delicate tissues of cotton, combined with feathers and rabbits' fur, polished crystals, obsidian or volcanic glass manufactured into delicate objects of ornamental or economic value are on exhibition, while figures of gold and silver, exquisitely wrought, and filagree ornaments of beautiful design fill many cases in the museum.

While examining these strange and wonderful exhibits you cannot help regretting that from the wreck of this primitive civilization some of the arts belonging to it were not saved and handed down to us. We do not know for a certainty how their astronomers determined the apparent motion of the sun, or measured the length of the solar year. We cannot understand how they cut and polished crystals and other stones ; manufactured delicate and complicated articles from volcanic glass ; cast figures of gold and silver in one piece ; made filagree ornaments without soldering ; applied to pottery smooth and transparent glazes such as we find on our own fine ware, and with colours that, after remaining for centuries buried among ruins, are to-day fresh and brilliant. Nor do we know how they were able to weave rabbits' fur and beautifully delicate feathers with the finest tissues of cotton into valuable cloth.

ORIGIN OF THEIR CIVILIZATION

Here it may be pertinent to inquire into the origin of this extraordinary civilization of these ancient Americans. Anthropologists, such as d'Orbigny, Heinrich, Schlieman and Brasseur de Bourbourg are of the opinion that the regions now known as Yucatan, Chiapas, and Tabasco were the cradle-lands of primitive American civilization. From this land in very early days, went out colonies which established themselves in Honduras, Peru and Guatemala, carrying with them the culture and arts of civilized men. From here also detached bodies moved northward and settled in parts of the territory known to-day as Mexico, where they built Mitla, Xochicalco and other cities whose ruins to-day excite our astonishment and admiration.

Everywhere in these lands we find the tidal remains of an ancient race which welled up from its primeval bed in Yucatan, multiplied and rolled on over the entire continent. Everywhere also are the melancholy memorials of a people who, after accomplishing great things, ran their course and perished in the veiled ages of prehistoric times.

It is impossible to deny the civilization and vast antiquity of these lands without using methods of criticism that would destroy the credibility of all history. When you move among the remains of these forest-shrouded and phantom cities and gaze upon the ruined temples, altars and monuments, you know that they are but the pitiful fragments left after the wreck of a civilization that was lost long ago in the awful storms of civil war, or in the gradual debasement of individual and national life.

Standing among the wreck and ruin of the temples, statuary and altars of this vanished race, whose language no man may speak, whose faces are unlike those of any people known to us, it is impossible not to credit them with a certain grandeur of thought, high architectural skill, indomitable energy, and a debasement of moral and religious life supremely sad and pitiful.

DECLINE AND DISAPPEARANCE OF THIS ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

We do not know how these primitive races fell, like Milton's angels, from their high estate. Possibly their civilization, like that of all ancient peoples, was destroyed by their own pride and arrogance. For, as Byron tells us :

> "This is the moral of all human tales :
> 'Tis but the sad rehearsal of the past,
> First freedom, then glory ; when that fails,
> Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last,
> And history with all her volumes vast
> Hath but one page."

No doubt, also, civil war wore them down and possibly plagues and famines. Flying before their victorious conquerors the defeated remnants moved northwards into the forests and, in time, lost the best part of their civilization. They lost their social strength, their historic memories, arts, traditions, crafts, and, in many instances the very means and methods of cultivation.

Who may deny that the savage or barbarian tribes who roamed the plains or peopled the forests of North America, in the memory of men yet living, were not the descendants of these hunted families, these remnants from a civilization that in remote ages was lost in lurid storms of war, or disappeared under adverse conditions which then, as now, make for the decay of national unity, national virtue and character. Observing in particular the social and the family state and the condition of American Indians from our own observation of their habits and our limited knowledge of their history, we note that the same fortunes have followed the migrations of all dispersed and scattered nations.

When human beings become destitute and desperate conditions of existence confront them, barbarism and savagery will, in time, overtake them. When driven by the fortunes of war, or under the dire pressure of famine, from its own land, the flying remnant gradually separates from the civilization it carries from its home, it loses its culture, just as we would lose it now, with all our refinement, if we were forced to live the nomadic life with its trials and hardships. And in the forests and desert wilderness to which the fugitives fled for safety, we can well imagine desperate conditions of existence and, therefore, impossible conditions of civilization.

ORIGIN OF OUR CANADIAN INDIANS

From this civilized race inhabiting, in remote times, Yucatan, Honduras, Mexico and Guatemala came, I am satisfied from my researches, our Canadian and North American Indians. Their colour indicated a southern origin. It takes thousands of years to give colour to a race and thousands of years, under changed climatic conditions, to alter that colour. In their migrations these wanderers from their original home brought with them the seeds of tobacco, squash and Indian corn or maize which to-day keep their southern names. They retained the knowledge of making pottery, of fleshing and tanning hides and stringing wampum or shell beads, which arts are practised now among Maya and Mexican tribes. Many of the ceremonial and religious practices of our Indians living in the last century are identically the same as those of the Mayas and Aztecs, when Cortes landed, in 1519, at Vera Cruz.

GREAT ANTIQUITY OF PRIMITIVE AMERICANS

But from what people or from what land did Yucatan inherit its civilization ? The men who colonized the peninsula, who built Xumal, Mayapan and Palenque, were in the material order civilized. They could not have risen from savagery, for there is no record in the annals of the human race of any savage tribe of men advancing, without the aid of civilized man, one single step on the road to civilization. This is history. We must then assume that the men who colonized Central America were civilized. Let me, by way of parenthesis, mention that the chronology of the Bible, the age of man upon the earth, or the universality of the Noachic deluge, have not been authoritatively settled by the Christian Church or by Christian scientists.

We must also, and permissibly, take it for granted that these civilized inhabitants of Yucatan lived before the smelting of iron ore was discovered, for if these ancient people came from Europe, Asia, or Northern Africa, they could not have forgotten the art of smelting or the utilization of iron. The axe, saw, plough, shipbolt, spear-head and chisel were, according to Herodotus, known to all the civilized races of antiquity. The civilization of Egypt goes back to the Deluge. The use of iron was known in the time of Tubal-Cain, son of Lamech, who antedated Noah. It was known long before the building of Solomon's temple, before the time of Hesiod and Homer. Iron goes back to the birth of history. Now notice this. No article or implement of iron has, until now, been found anywhere among the ruins of ancient American cities, or indications that it was ever known or even heard of by these mysterious people. If our continent was, at any time, peopled by a civilized race from the old world, it must have been long before mankind was familiar with the properties of iron. Nor could these primitive Americans have lost the art of smelting ore if they had descended into barbarism and risen again, for among the tribes of Equatorial Africa, the smelting of iron remained with them in their debasement.

It is also a singular fact that no domesticated animal, if we except the burden-bearing Llama and Alpaca of Peru, were found in Mexico, or in all South and Central America. The Spaniards introduced to these countries, the cow, dog, horse, burro, goat, sheep, hen, and cat, and among all the Indians retaining their tribal languages, these animals are known by their Spanish names. In the Aztec codices or in the traditions of any American race or tribe, there is no mention or memory of a domesticated animal.

Nor can we, by affinity of language with any spoken or written tongue of the other continents of the world, trace any relationship between these people and other races of men. Nothing is so indelible as speech. Sounds that, in unknown ages of man, were uttered by the races of the earth still remain with us as legacies from unrecorded time. Languages, like seeds, never entirely die. They stay with the soil, and when nations, or tribal families disappear forever, mountains repeat and rivers murmur the voices of these races that have disappeared, been absorbed or were annihilated. All European, Asiatic and African languages have been followed back to their sources, but the languages of the American Indians rest apart from all other known tongues of our race. Their speech throws no light on the origin of these prediluvian people.

Philologists like Gallatin, Duponseau and Mueller say it differs radically from all other known languages which could not happen if our Indians were descendants from a European, African or Asiatic stock.

No theories of derivation of the languages or dialects of these Indians from those of the old world sustain the test of critical examination or of grammatical construction. Comparison with the Sanskrit, the Hebrew, the Phœnician, Japanese, Chinese, Celtic or Scandinavian languages establishes no affinity between them and any primitive American tongue. As the human voice articulates not more than twenty radical and distinct sounds, whatever resemblance may be found to exist between any other language and those of the Maya, Mexican and Dacotah is of no ethnic value.

While endeavouring to solve the problem of prehistoric man in America and, collaterally the Canadian Indian, we are confronted with another problem of grave import. When America was discovered, strange and unfamiliar animals prowled through its forests and roamed over its plains. Reptilian life was everywhere and fresh-water fish swam in lakes and rivers a thousand miles inland. In these inland lakes species of fish fauna are found which, writes Robert Francis Scarf in his latest book, "Distribution and Origin of Life in America" cannot live in salt water and could not have originated from any ocean fauna. These fish and animals were here ages before the coming of man.

Fossil remains of extinct animals and lizards of giant size and strength, and petrified bones of huge mammalian monsters like those unearthed lately in Africa and Europe, have been recovered from petrified clay in Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. How then did these fresh-water fish, these mammalian monsters, these pythons, boas, and reptiles of the forest, these multitudinous animals of many species and varieties, and, finally, man himself, find their way to a land separated from other lands by two great oceans ?

The solution of, or preferably, an effort to solve this puzzling problem, will invite our attention sometime in the future. To-day I can do no more than to thank you, Mr. President and gentlemen, for the patience and gracious courtesy with which you have listened to an address altogether outside the domain of the eloquent and pleasant after-dinner speeches which grace our ordinary meetings.

Mr. Allen W. Johnston—"Tekahionwaki"—a brother of Pauline Johnston, representing the Mohawk Indians, moved the vote of thanks to Dean Harris, which was heartilv carried.

UNITED CANADA'S ANSWER TO THE CALL

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT.-COL. PERCY GUTHRIE, M.P.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 2, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—This is the first opportunity I have had of visiting Toronto, and it is a proud thing to come to this centre of British sentiment in the Dominion of Canada and be able to see around the Board the men of Toronto who have at heart the best interests of this great Empire, and to know that one is being welcomed by a Club which bears the name of Empire; and to realize for the moment how dear that word is to every British heart—how it takes us all in and clothes us all, more particularly at the present time than at any other since the Empire began. As we look across the Atlantic we see rising out of the mists yonder that little sea-girt isle peopled by those sons who years ago accepted Christianity and the principles of life and brotherhood which were handed down to us by the Christ from the cross, and then uniting themselves together as one people—Anglo-Saxon, Pict and Celt and Scot—and we find them going around the world and scattering themselves like seed until other little nations, fashioned after the manner of the parent state, grew up, and are now welded into this great chain of nations that make up this Empire. It is a proud thing to come here and have an opportunity of saying a word for the Empire, and to tell of the sons of the Empire who are fighting in France and Flanders to-day.

It is well to go back to the beginning of the war when people, in common with those of us who have donned the khaki, thought little of war ; they had not prepared for war with the exception of a few days at camp each summer as a relief from business, as a chance to shoulder the musket of our forefathers, to strut around in all the fine trimmings of war, little thinking that it would soon be upon us. Then we found to our amazement that war was soon to be real, and we found that we should have been up and doing years before, because every adult man in the enemy's country had been growing up in a mighty nation where, from the monarch down, farmer and statesman, carter and artisan, everybody 40 years since, flushed with their victory over France, had been building up an army that might at a moment's notice crush out all forces that might oppose them. Then when that last moment came we find them prepared to strike, and the mighty host of the great Kaiser rolled down on poor little defenceless Belgium. If there ever was a statesman, a politician, or a king, who by his memory and his deeds commended himself to us, it was good King Edward, who caused us to have that alliance with France, with her trained army, which we had to stand in the gap and to stand by Belgium until we might prepare. It was the army of France and the navy of England that did the trick two years and a few months ago. And then, my friends, the Old Countries found that they could not handle the job alone; and we remember how the call came across the ocean until it reached the shores of Canada, over our mighty forests and over our streams ; and we found the boys leaving the plough, and swarming out from all parts of this smiling continent from the southern border to the northern zones, of all tongues, of all breeds, of all races, of all religions, putting on one coat that garbs us all. Then Canada began to realize what she had missed when she did not do something for the British Navy, when she saw her great armada, the largest that ever crossed the ocean, guided safely over the Atlantic's storm-tossed water by the ships of Britain; when she saw her sons being safely conveyed across and landed on British soil, and realized that she should have had a few ships, perhaps, in that navy of Britain. Then they landed in England, and they trained in the mud and the rain, and some were disgruntled at the treatment they received, not of the English people, because they were kind and the homes were open, but they hated all this long time in England. Soon the call came, and over in France and Flanders we find them, and then Canada woke up more than ever to realize her part in this mighty Empire when on the 22nd April of last year Canada with her first Canadian division about which we have heard so much met the Huns and held them in check at Ypres.

My friends, no words of mine can properly express the feelings that I have for my old comrades of the first division, as I look back at those memorable hours and days which were counted for our Empire. When I turn my mind on that subject I see a great cloud of gas that rolled down and was turned loose for the first time by the murderous heart of the Huns upon our Franco-Algerian troops, and they were swept aside. A moment before everything seemed so pleasant ; a few shells were dropping down, and through it all the little birds were singing in the trees ; the leaves were fluttering in the honey-laden zephyrs ; the grass was green upon the ground ; and then the gas sweeps on its way of death : the leaves have turned yellow and slowly flutter down ; the song of the birds was heard no more ; the grass is yellow and wild ; hundreds of those brave allies are gasping for breath ; Prince Henry of Rupprecht with 10,000 Huns is marching on to seeming victory, and close upon the heels of that gas wave they were marching upon the allied centre. The first Canadian division waited not for orders, but dashed up into that gas cloud, and when it rested and rolled above their heads and the 140,000 dashed down they were met and hurled back, and back and back again by the steady wall of Canadian steel. The boys from Toronto were there—Curry's 48th and Rennie's Own, in that First Canadian Division, to hold back the Huns. Yes, my friends, your boys were there ; we get acquainted sometimes better away over in France and Flanders than we do in this country. We don't visit one another enough ; we don't see you Ontario people down East, only when you want to come down and sell your goods. The only time I ever got acquainted with an Ontario man was when he wanted to sell me law books that I would never read. But we are getting acquainted, we soldier men, so that when this war is over there will be a strong feeling spring up between the East and the West, between Province and Province, that will be a wonderful thing towards building up a greater and more united Canada.

Then we come to the battle of Festubert and the battles that have been fought since, and we always find the Canadian soldier taking a foremost place and standing in front of the soldier men of the Empire, holding the same relative position that the business men and the statesmen of Canada hold in their particular lines—Canada always to the front, more now than ever before.

I can remember how some of the boys went into the battle of Festubert. A chap by the name of Costigan was in the 10th at that time. Just to give you an instance of what men will do for their fellow men and for their country; as we lay at half-past four one afternoon we were going into the trench, and at the command we were to make a smash out at the line, which we did. Before we went over I woke up one night thinking I was hit on the head, and that the blood ran down my fingers and dropped off my sleeves. I told some of my friends I was going to get it in the head, and they said, "No, you are going to come back and be hung." Next night I got up again and the same thing happened, and the third night following. Well, on this particular afternoon this man Costigan, whom you have heard so much about in Ontario as well as in the West was left down at the end of the trench. Just at the time that we were to go over the parapet, when the bombers and bayonet men were ready to make an immediate smash, when the artillery had silenced for a moment from that particular line, I said, "Come on, boys," and started for the German line. Somebody grabbed me and said, "Never mind, Major, you have got three kiddies and a wife at home ; I will go." It was Costigan, and as he climbed over the parapet something hit him in the head and he fell into my arms, and I put my hand up on the head and blood dripped from my fingers and ran down my sleeves. Old Costigan was for two months crazy in a French hospital. He came back to England ; they thought he would never be any good again, but on the 11th of last November Costigan was back in the firing line. Costigan led his bombing company into the German trenches, and you remember it was he who reported that he had found, fresh and warm in their blood, two little French girls who had been kept there for the uses and purposes of the Prussian officers ; their throats cut so that they could not tell the story of what had happened to them when the place of line was captured. Those are the things that the sons of Canada are fighting for to-day—to put down just such things as that. I could tell you some more stories, but I am picking out individual cases from hundreds of them, thousands of them no doubt. I could tell you the story of a New Brunswick fellow who, when the old 10th were ordered out on the 10th April at Ypres to drive the Germans out of a defence position, found that our flanks on right and left were not coming up, and although being a Brigade Major of the Second Brigade I was entitled to send up an orderly, orderlies were not on hand. He was a friend of mine ; I wrote out the message and he took it in his own hand and went in the daylight with the machine guns turning on from both sides, carrying that message. A shell broke over him and split his head open and his brains hung down over his right ear, and John Currie will tell you that he still rushed on. After picking himself up he found he could only run over to a point where he was free of shell-fire, and then he fell again till he finally pressed that message into another hand. It was "Hang on for further orders, your flanks have not come up." Had we gone forward our flanks would have been turned ; not a man would have come back, because Canadians don't come back when they start out to do their duty.

Then I could tell you the story of Joe Bollindu, who at Festubert went with his machine gun to the end of a piece of trench, and when 50 yards out laid flat, and there was not a man left alive, and he was holding the line against a bomb and bayonet attack of the Germans, and a shell broke and killed six of his comrades, one being his brother, and pieces of his brother's body were scattered over him and embedded in his cheek so that we had to pick them out with our fingers ; and he stayed there and worked his own gun until we sent a platoon up to his assistance. Such men as those are born on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and in Ontario, and in the West, and they come trooping from the Yukon to do their duty to the flag.

I could tell you another little story of something that happened on the "Hesperian" on the way back to Canada, when after being torpedoed in the night time, and her nose opening towards the bottom of the Atlantic, we were all in turmoil and trouble ; I with my crutches, weak, four days out of the hospital bed, down in my bunk. Knowing and feeling that the hour was about to strike for me, as I had thought it was about to strike on two or three other occasions, I waited at the bottom of my door for the water to bubble through, expecting it would come in at any moment. I repeated for the fifth time the Lord's Prayer—perhaps some of you old fellows don't repeat it enough in your homes now, but you get out on the "Hesperian" when she is sinking and you will say it over more than once. As I was lying there a chap by the name of Geggie—that is the name of a Presbyterian preacher in Toronto—was on board that vessel, and he hunted me up, and though he was weak from his own wounds he trailed me up the stairs, put me with my back against a post, got a life belt and put it around me at the risk of his own life, and then went back looking for women and children, whom he helped and put in life boats that were leaving the ship. Then, to give you an idea that all the sympathy and all the bravery has not been done on the part of the men of Canada, there was a woman whose home is in North Bay, Ontario, and after that crowd had sobered down, a few minutes afterwards this woman lurched from one side of the vessel and grabbed me and put me up against the post. I said, "Go away, woman,"—you would have thought she was a woman travelling back and forward from the Old Country to pick up a man for herself—and I said, "If you think you are getting a man for yourself, you are getting a poor class of man, because there is no chance for me ; you better run on and get saved." She replied, "Oh, no, you boys have fought for us over in France, and it is time a woman stood by you." The woman stood by me there when the railing was torn up by the torpedo and the ship was supposed to be sinking in a moment, and Hercules Bollindu, the Frenchman from Montreal, came around and got me under one arm, and the woman under the other and brought me to the lifeboat, and I was hanging back until the woman would take her place before me, saying I was not much use for going home anyway, but they both got behind me and heaved me over into the life-boat.

Women like that and men like that go to make up this great Canada of ours. Those are the people we ought to be backing up to-day, for our daughters as well as our sons are giving their lives for this country, and when they are giving their lives for this country they are giving their lives for you and for me who are staying here at home.

Are we as much a united people as they are over in France and Flanders to-day ? That is a question I want to ask here to-day. That is the key-note of what little thing I have to say to you. I want to stand here, my friends, if you will let me, and try to bring to you a message from the boys over in France and Flanders whom I represent, to whom I am going back once more as soon as I am able. I want to say to you, my friends in Orange Toronto—and I am an Orangeman myself and am proud of it—get together, as I said a while ago in Quebec. At the beginning of this war, up in Valcartier Plains, there were no racial differences ;

you did not ask a man whether he was a Scotchman or Irishman or Welshman or Frenchman, but only that he was a volunteer. Over in France and Flanders do they ask you any questions about what your nationality is? Not for a moment.

Coming down on a trench line on the afternoon of the 22nd May, before we made the smash when we took the 425 yards at Festubert, I saw a Roman Catholic counting his beads, and I pressed with the Orange grip the hand of my Orange brother crawling through the mud, and they were not asking one another anything about bilingualism or any racial feuds or differences; they had only one thought in their hearts; their minds and hearts were full of that thought, which was that at half-past eight that night every man was going forth with the knowledge of the order that had been handed down to us: "Go over the trenches to-night; don't expect to come back; use up your battalion; break through. (Signed) Haig." It was necessary that one battalion must be sacrificed, and I had the honour of leading that battalion.

My friends, we know that years ago our fathers have fought in every land and clime, with nearly every people that have ever graced God's foot-stool. We have found them good enemies and poor enemies, but more particularly those battles were fought with this French race. We seem to get together in enmity wherever our two peoples meet, they have something to fight about, and it seems that a great number of us have something to fight about still, and the war still goes on. A few years ago old France and old England got together and forgot the differences of the past. Two years and a few months ago the young sons of old France and old England got together, and to-day in France and Flanders the blood of those two peoples that had mingled in a stream of enmity is now mingled in a stream of comradeship and brotherly love, and they are becoming a united people. It is up to the people of Quebec and the people of Ontario not to delay one minute longer, but to get together. If a soldier man can forget his differences when he is about to give his life for his

King, surely you people can forget your differences when you are not called to make the supreme sacrifice—and I say to you, my friends, that until you get together and get behind the united forces of Canada over in France and Flanders, you are leaving undone something that is wanting. They are looking back across the waters from out there on the edge of No Man's Land, where death is stalking and picking first one and then another, and no one knows whose turn is next ; but there in that little line of khaki they are holding back the Huns ; and I say to the man who tells me that he is fighting for England or fighting for France when he is over there, that he is wrong; a man who is over there is fighting for Canada, fighting for every inch of Canada, just as much as if a line was drawn between Quebec and the city of St. John and the fighting was going on there. All the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick think of the people in Ontario and the West as fighting for their homes, and we are saying to the rest of Canada, "come on, we are fighting for you." Some add to that, "Oh, no, Ontario, Quebec, and the West have not been attacked yet ; we will wait until our own homes are in danger, and then we will go forth and fight." But if that line in France is broken, six days brings the enemy to our shores. If by any mischance, which God forbid, the Navy should be swept from the seas, we are only six days away from the seat of war ; and I say further that it is necessary for every civilian in this country to feel that this must be his duty as well as that of the men in khaki. What is the difference between you and me ? Yesterday I was practising law in the city of Fredericton, making a humble living for my wife and three kids ; to-day I am fighting in France and Flanders, giving up my practice, sacrificing everything.

I am only putting myself forward to show what every other soldier is doing ; and are you spending as many hours at the work of the Empire ? Are you doing your duty ? I say to you that the boys over in France and Flanders, more particularly now than at any other time, are looking across the water at what you are doing here. Every man in France and Flanders is a conscriptionist; every man believes that the only way to win this war is to turn into the forces of Britain every available bit of man-power within this Empire—and that is by conscription. I feel, since you have applauded, that these words are falling upon willing ears. I would that it were so from coast to coast. I trust that in the next six months it will be so, and that this matter will come to a final issue; and that the people of Canada, forgetting at last and for all their party ambitions, their party allegiance, as we call it, in a time of Imperial stress, will cast aside all the ties that bind them to whatever cause they have espoused before, and come out flat-footed, holus bolus, for the one idea that appeals to the heart of a Canadian fighting man at the present moment—conscription of our forces in Canada.

My friends, then if that is so, when the war is won by the sons of the Empire who have come from all parts of this far-strewn Empire of ours, when once more victory rests upon our banners, when our boys come trooping back home again, if you have done what I have asked you on their behalf to-day you will be able to look into their eyes with a feeling of pride and satisfaction. If you have not gone to their assistance as they have asked you to do, then, my friends, you will have to look at your fate when those boys come home again, because they have forgotten all party ties, they have forgotten everything else but Empire—a man must forget everything else but Empire when he is willing to sacrifice his life, for what more can a man give but his life? They are giving it daily; they are giving it nightly; giving it for you and your loved ones; and when they are willing to give their lives, all we ask of you in their behalf is to give every pound of your energy and every dollar of your money that is necessary to bring about that which they are fighting for—the successful end of this war, the tramping out forever of the power of oppression, so that if we are to be a land of peace we can come back and feel that the wars of the world are over and that it will now be a land of peace. Then we can take stock of ourselves and everything, and build up an even greater Empire than we have at the present moment.

I feel your interest, and I know you are interested in yarns from the front ; and I only wish you were not so busy, and that my voice could ramble on and on, and I could tell you many more instances ; but I trust that now you have made me a member of your Club there may be an opportunity of coming back to Toronto again during the next few months, perhaps not as an invited guest, but as one of your own members, and be able to spend a few more moments with you some evening as pleasantly as I have to-day.

Mr. W. F. MacLean, M.P., moved a hearty vote of thanks, which was carried.

TRADE PREPARATION FOR COMING PEACE

AN ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR
GEORGE E. FOSTER, M.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 7, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am to speak to you to-day for a little time on the situation and conditions which will confront us, or may confront us, when war ceases and when peace again commences to bless the world. That task is lightened a great deal in coming before an audience like this, because the audience is composed of men who know much more about these things than I do. I am not here to dictate, not here particularly to teach, and in no sense am I here to dogmatize. I am here, in a sketchy and altogether inadequate way, to bring to the minds of the business people of this city, through these their representatives, some thoughts in relation to conditions which will probably face us when the war ceases. I suppose all of us will agree that production and distribution—and taking in connection with the latter, and in fact with both, the considerations of finance and transport—have been profoundly affected all the world over by this tremendous war. You will not find many who will raise a dissentient voice to that statement of the case. But whilst all agree in that, there are yet some things that it appears to some of us have not been done, and that might very well be commenced to be done, even in the busy times of war. There are many people who will agree in a moment that we are passing through a phase of world-wide change in Canada, and that we ourselves are being and will be vitally affected by the results of the war.

When, however, one comes to talk it out with people, he meets two or three types, and is fortunate if he meets no more ; but I will only mention two or three.

He will meet one type of man and mind who will say to him, "You are a mixer and a muddler ; you are confusing us ; there is only one thing now-a-days upon which we should centre our minds and our efforts, that is, how to prosecute the war ; don't draw away people's minds from that one certain set purpose ; finish war first and then we will sit down and talk about what we will do after the war." The answer that I give to that type of thought is this. I recall a memory common to many of you, that was the kind of talk, reversed, which was prevalent in Great Britain and in the Empire before the war broke out. There were people of wide vision and experience who believed that a menace was above us or approaching us, or imminent, and was filled with peril ; but when they attempted to press that view upon their fellow-men they were met with that type of mind and the answer was given to them, "There is no war on ; we are engaged in the arts and works of peace ; it is time enough to see what we will do about the war when war comes." And because of that, war fell upon the British Empire and found the British Empire with all the flails of destruction smiting its devoted head, raining its blows down upon it, absolutely unprepared so far as a land army and equipment was concerned to defend the Empire or to play its part in unison with the nations who made head against this great menace.

Now, I say it is quite possible that unless we are up and doing, thinking and acting, that if we go upon the idea—"Attend to the war now ; do what is necessary to be done in times of peace after the war is ended"—that we will find ourselves in the gulf of unpreparedness, and that we will pay a penalty for that unpreparedness in the matter of business and trade, as we have undoubtedly paid the awful penalty in the war. If the British Empire had been prepared for war, for the complete defence of such a trust, such a tremendous trust as was confided to her care ; if she had been as well prepared at the commencement of the war as she is at this present day, this war would have been over and done months and months and months ago ; streams of blood and oceans of expense would have been avoided and saved to the Empire and to its constituent countries. So I do not take much stock in the objection that we are to leave these things until war is ended and only then sit down and counsel about them.

There is another type of man, and when you talk with him he says, "Well, I am very busy ; business was never better ; my factories are crowded ; I have more orders than I can fill ; my profits are good and my bank book is healthy ; I am making money ; I am busily engaged ; I am working on both peace and war work, and I have no time now to break away from this business and think or plan for what is to happen when the war is over." Well, that is an objection which is utilitarian,—I might even say selfish ; I do not think it is an objection which is absolutely the most broad-minded and the most patriotic. Founded on that, surely, must be this deduction—that if a man, a corporation, a factory, has plenty of business, and it is going well with it, that it is not necessary for it to look forward to a time in the future, when an absolute and certain change must take place. Maybe it is open to the inference that the man who so talks has had in mind that he will make his pile before peace occurs, and others can look after the confusion and wreckage which will come when the war is over. In either case I do not believe the objection is a valid and good one.

Well, there is another, not altogether unique type of mind. He is the happy-go-lucky man. He simply tells you that you are bothering a great deal about what is of no importance and what does not matter. He says, "Why, there never was so much money in Canada as there is at the present time ; there never was more employment than there is to-day ; there never were better bank accounts ; there never was greater prosperity ; everything is going on ; the war has the effect of making business, and of causing wealth to be accumulated ; everything will take care of itself when the war is over, and we will glide out into the ways of peace without knowing that we have ever been through the war. It will be as though some person in command of a great big brigade would, when the war ceases, say to the world, 'War is over ; as you were !' and the whole world of workers now employed on all those various activities will march out into the fields of peaceful occupations and be exactly as they were before." Now, sir, I do not believe that such is the case, and I do not think it is worth while stopping to consume much time to rebut the argument advanced by men of that kind.

I mention those three ; there are others. But I want to bring before those three types of mind, if there are any that are representative of them in this audience, and before the others in this audience, some patent facts, some outstanding considerations which certainly cause us to think and to consider ; and it is to bring these to your pure minds by way of remembrance—not that you have not thought of them yourselves—that I take the liberty of spending a few moments upon them.

By the time this war is over, whether it be in 1917 or 1918 or 1919—and no man living can tell in which year it will be—500,000 adult men will have been abstracted from the fields, the forests, the mines, the farms of this country ; taken away from previous beneficent productive work and drafted into the great phalanx which day and night, month after month, year after year, are trying to destroy as much of the accumulated wealth of the world as they can, and to destroy as many units of humanity as they possibly can. Do you think that 500,000 adult men can be taken out of the productive industries of Canada and leave no after effects ? Put that down on your note-book.

But put another thing along side of it. War at the front has to be sustained by war service behind the front, and for every soldier that fights in the trenches and at the front it is calculated that the whole time of one or two persons must be given to provide the equipments, the supplies, the services which are necessary to make the front line effective in carrying on the war. Then put as a second point on your note-book the fact that at least 500,000 men and women are abstracted or will be abstracted from the beneficent productive work of Canada in making supplies, equipments, doing subsidiary services of a thousand different kinds, all to aid the processes of destruction and demolition which are being carried on by the advanced 500,000 men. Do you think it is possible to abstract, in addition to the first, this other force of 500,000 people, and yet there shall be no after-consequences, no effects ? But you have not the whole account yet.

Put down on your note-book the tremendous daily expenditures for war ; the colossal debts that are being accumulated ; the increased taxation which is necessary in order to keep up this burden ; and you will tot up a sum of money so vast that you will be unable to adequately understand exactly what it means. But it is a burden which is rolled in upon us as one of the consequences of the war, which is laid upon our shoulders, and which will bear heavily upon your shoulders for your lives and for the lives of your sons, if it does not go farther even than that.

But that is not all. Put down on your note-book as well another item—the trail of war, the consequences of war outside of those financial and unit abstractions that I have spoken of, in the men who will never come back, in the men who will come back, but different from what they were when they went over ; in the men who will come back, who will be our proud burden —and we will not think of them as burdens ; lovingly we will care for them—Government, municipality, associations, home, the individual ; but none the less they will be a drag and an abstraction, a drag upon the prosperity of the future, an abstraction from the work of the world, and the value of what might have been their contribution if they had never gone to the war.

And then you can let your imagination go just a little further as to what it means for this Dominion of Canada to have had these, the virile men, the strong men, the men of fibre physically, the men of fibre mentally, the men of big souls and of large visions and of strong feelings, and sensitiveness to the obligations of duty and right, to those ideals which were ours, pass out from us in these days, turning their backs upon the West and facing the East till they came to the base line and the trench and met destiny face to face. There are factors which are being abstracted from the fertile soil of this country which it will take generations to replace, the loss of which we cannot but deplore, and the loss of which it will take long to make up.

Now, do you think that all these things can take place and that something is not doing, working out of our sight partly, in our sight as well—working, working in this country of ours, in every branch of its life and its enterprise ? Is there not something in all that which makes it necessary for us, if we will face our duties, to spare a little from our busy work, to let our thoughts have some play when activities are not too strong. and to face the conditions and the situations as they appear to us—face them with thought, face them afterwards with plans as to meeting the conditions when they come ? Is it best for us or not, to wait till these conditions are upon us ? Or is it best for us to anticipate them as much as we can, and prepare for them as best we may ?

Now, suppose that to-morrow the bells of peace ring and war is declared off ; there are some things that we know will take place. One thing that will take place is this. At that very red-hot moment the doors of your munition factories will shut, the wheels of your munition industries will cease to go round, the busy cogs will no longer work, you will no longer have governments coming to you and stuffing both pockets full of orders and saying to you, "Get busy and fill these." You will not then have that source for employment. In all that aggregation of capital and enterprise and industry and machinery and equipment there will be a sudden pause. The chains with their million links will clank and move more slowly, and the war machine—wonderful, tremendous, pervasive as it is—will stop dead in so far as nine-tenths of those activities are concerned.

But there will be another thing. While you have been furnishing your factory for munitions of war, getting your help, drilling them to the work, filling the orders which crowd in upon you, for which payment is prompt and quick and certain—while all that is going on, you, or others like you, have been gradually growing out of your old-time peace customers. You have not been able to attend to your old customers. They have gone elsewhere ; the old peace custom in the two or three years will have scattered and gone, and largely will have been lost. Then when the war orders are no more, you have to go out and hustle after orders. You will not find people coming in, stuffing your pockets full of orders, and telling you to hustle ; it will be you that will have to do the hustling then—hustle for the old customers that you have not known for two or three years, for the old custom that you have not enjoyed for a year or two years or more.

All that I want to do is to bring before you as vividly as I possibly can that that is a change that is absolutely certain. Many things we do not know, others we can reasonably guess, but these things I have been speaking about are absolutely certain.

Now, what is it best to do ? To wait till that time comes, and then in the confusion and in the maze of worrying, disappointed, dislocated activities which will busy us at that time to sit down and in that guise and under those circumstances try and work out what we shall do for the future ?

Now, let me in all sincerity, in all kindliness, but in all truthfulness say that there is not a great progressive country that I know of that is so sound asleep as Canada is to-day in this very particular. I want you to take that in, because I believe it is absolutely true. There is no doctrine, spiritual or otherwise, that I would agree to with a greater conviction of my being right than to this doctrine which I have just enunciated. I believe it is absolutely true. Now for proof. Go over to England. Some of you have been there, and

I appeal to you that have been there. While the heart of England, out to its rim is burdened and busy with preparations for war and the making of munitions, there is a wealth of activity—mental, scientific, business-like—which is devoting hour after hour, day after day, night and day, week after week, month after month, looking into those very problems which I have been trying to outline for you to-day, and seeking and delving and examining and planning and working with capital, with business enterprise and business ability, to plan for the things which must be engaged in when peace comes, and not to be found napping.

The world has learned this lesson from the war—those engaged in the war most particularly—that old business crusts, like old social crusts, like old class crusts, have been pretty well shot to pieces during these two and a half years of war. They will never be mended. Not only the class distinctions will have been rent in twain from top to bottom, to be succeeded by better; but the crusts of business custom and wont hallowed by centuries have been rent from centre to circumference and will never be mended and be as they were of old. The war has taught the Empire that mobilization, standardization, organization and co-operation—four big words they are, but I don't charge you anything for the size of them—that those four things idealized, incarnated in practice, are the things that are winning this war. Application of those methods is what is winning the war, and the lesson will be thoroughly learned ; it must be learned after the war if not before the war is over, that these same things must be applied in the world of business. So in Great Britain they are doing that, and so they are doing it in the United States. Read their scientific journals, read their trade journals, read the results and reports of their great conventions. The United States is alive from the borders of the south to the borders of Canada, looking to the future, making preparations—scientific, financial, including the enterprise and the application of business ability, making preparations for what shall succeed the war. France is doing the same on a scientific and uniform basis ; so is Russia ; so is Italy, in lesser degree but still doing it ; all the countries are doing it ; so is Japan. What is Canada doing ? She may be thinking a great deal. She may be doing something, but to my eye there is not much that can be scanned upon the surface as yet. How long shall we go on in that way ?

When the war is over and peace comes and the world of business sets itself to work, competition will be on a basis different from ever before. Tom and John and Harry with small capitals and little businesses will have no chance in the world to go into Russia and do big business. It must be done on a different plane. Combination must come in ; co-operation must come in ; mobilization of forces must come in. Suspicion, small business and petty jealousies must be swept out, and men must be willing to give of the best that is in them to their neighbour in the same trade and in other trades in order that we may get at the best national results. Is there any doubt in the world about this ? I do not think, there is. What are we doing? What are we going to do ? For Canada is a country of brain and nerve and business ability, of resource and adaptability. It is going to secure its place in the world in the future as it has in the past. It is going to play its part, but we have got to do something that we have not yet done if we are to give ourselves a fair chance to play the part.

See here ; do you know the pathetic thing about the war in its earlier period was the part played by the Russian people on the Eastern war front. Anti-German to the core, whatever German influence may have penetrated the courts and high circles of Russian society, of finance and of business, the Russian heart was not swayed or touched or corrupted by the Hun. It was this that made the Russian soldier a unit from Vladivostock to the Carpathians, a unit in this war behind their Czar to defend their country and to fend off the Hun. There you see a people of simple spiritual ideals, a plain people, with loyal purpose and deep mystic devotion to Tzar and country in their heart. You see them fighting with their bare fists against German equipments—iron, steel, flame, poison, everything concentrated upon them. Was it not pathetic that they went into that fight with their bare fists so to speak, and fought and died by hundreds of thousands without giving way, and for lack of preparation they perished ? Do you want to be in that way in a business point of view ? You have pluck ; you have heart ; you have brain ; but if you have not the munitions of preparedness when you go out into this great peace competition after the war is over, you will find yourselves up against better munitioned, better equipped, better nationalized and better mobilized businesses than you yourselves have—and it will take you years, and maybe a generation, to overcome the initial handicap. Why not commence to overcome it now ? Why not get down to thinking and planning and action in order to put yourselves right in Canada with reference to this future ?

Now I have worked myself into a heat, and you yourselves also possibly, and my time is about done, but I am not one-third over. Don't be afraid I am not going to give you the other two-thirds now. I cannot go on any longer, it is two o'clock, and this array of business men must be let loose for their business, whatever it is. One word or two in conclusion. I think we have learned the lesson taught by the excesses of the land boom a few years ago. I think some of us have learned it ; but sure as fate the moment the war is over up will jump your parasites and your unnecessary middlemen and your armies of speculators and they will want to do the old thing over in the same old way. What we have to do is to get away from the false idea that you can make money by swapping jack-knives at a quarter of a dollar advance for each swap. Why, miles and miles from Victoria, in the dense forest, there is staked out to-day many and many a succession of town lots, land which should have been cultivated by the agriculturist, inflated by speculation until it comes to take such a fictitious value that no man can settle on it and cultivate it with profit ; he would not have a ghost of a chance for his life.

The only way we will ever make money in Canada is to get down to the basic principle that wealth is made by production and development, and by no other. As I travelled over this great country of ours with my companions in the Dominion Royal Commission—Old Countrymen, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans—it was one of the constant amazements from first to last in the minds of those men as to the interminable resources, the grand scale on which Canada was projected in every way, and the almost unimaginable resources that she has. That is our dower ; that is our wealth in perspective ; and the only way we can make good as a country is to go to the work of production ; go to it with knowledge ; go to it with high purpose ; go to it with scientific training ; go to it with method and with organization and with mobilization ; go to it with purpose and work out on that line, and on that line we shall make of Canada a country which will be second to none other in this wide world. Now, that is my conscientious conviction. It may be a big word to say that Canada has within it possibilities greater than even the United States, but I am quite convinced that she has as great possibilities. It may be a great deal to say that Canada will some time outstrip the wealth of the old nations ; but time is long, and the world has its courses to run through, and in the future, those who live to see it will see Canada one of the most developed and mightiest and richest and most prosperous countries in the world ; but we will only get to it through the portal of development and of production.

One last word, and that is this : Is not the war making some of us over? Many of us, I hope. Lately I have had a kind of a depressing feeling that the clarity and soulfulness of the early period of the war was being somewhat blurred by out present business prosperity and full employment, and that our ambitions were now driving us out of these feelings—that the spirituality of the early part of this awful war is beginning to fade from our minds and our hearts. Let us guard ourselves against such apostasy. The condition of our Canadian people and of the British people will be a sad one indeed if they come out of this war blurred with the materiality of business and trade success. It is not going to so turn out, only we must guard ourselves on that side. But is not this war making us all over a good deal ? Undoubtedly, through and through. In Great Britain notably, in France more notably still, in Canada to a less degree but yet to a large extent. Are we not closer, more nearly face to face with the eternal verities of life than ever before ? Do we not feel that there is more in this world than to cultivate acres and get bank balances and have our pleasures and our comforts therefrom ? After all, is it not growing upon us that we are here to use these things in moderation and as stepping-stones to a better manhood and a better womanhood, with greater spiritual force, greater sacrifice and greater generosity of distribution. I think that is the lesson that is being taught us, and I believe that in this way we shall snatch from this war something of good out of the interminable ill. Apply that to your business. Don't be so absorbed in business as not to feel that in it all you are but a trustee of the good gifts of Providence, to be used by you in generous measure, but to be used mostly for the good and uplift of human kind.

Sir Mortimer Clark moved the vote of thanks, and Prof. McLennan, of Toronto University, seconded.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR SAM HUGHES, K.C.B., M.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 9, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I once heard the late Sir Oliver Mowat make use of an expression which commends itself to me, and I believe to almost every man who professes to be square—that next to the appreciation of his own heart and conscience in pursuing correct lines he valued the good will and appreciation of his honest fellow-men—I thank you, sir, for your kind words regarding me, but I wish it to be kindly understood that before the appreciation of my fellow-men comes the appreciation of my own heart and conscience. When I feel that I am right I am not going to change without good and sufficient reason.

I am to make some observations on the war. I shall not enter into an outline of the causes of the war, nor shall I take up your time by telling you how the people of this land had been a peace-loving nation, endeavouring to develop this great Dominion of Canada from ocean to ocean, to build up homes as far as possible for future generations, to develop our minerals, develop our forests, open up the great vast areas that are as yet unsettled ; in other words, we were a peace-loving people, unused to war. But, sir, we come of a breed that has never yet failed, when their rights were trampled upon, when injustice was being done, or when the great principles of human liberty were in the balance, to come to the front on occasions such as these. Therefore when this war broke out, Canada responded, from ocean to ocean, as no nation ever did before. For with all those positive attributes accorded to the

British nation, we had added both from our native-born and from our British-descended people; we had added that splendid spirit of individual liberty, progress and human development characteristic of any people in a young and growing country such as Canada is. They saw the principles of human liberty in danger, and they rushed to the front. As Colonel Craig, whom we have the honour of having present, with his Edmonton Regiment in the city, very properly pointed out last night, the old First Division led the way for the other boys to follow, and set the model not only for Canadians to attempt to attain to, but for the Allied Troops, for the British Troops and their kindred fighters to endeavour to attain to, along the entire line. We are therefore proud of what Canadians have done in the firing line.

But, sir, there is a spirit abroad in Canada—as I say we are not a warring people—there is a spirit abroad in Canada of nervousness. I do not by that mean fear. There is a tension abroad, a spirit abroad among those who have husbands, fathers, brothers, lovers and sons at the front. Their wives, their children, their sisters, their sweethearts and mothers are anxiously waiting daily for news of those near and dear to them. There is scarcely a home in the great city of Toronto or throughout the length and breadth of the Province of Ontario and the majority of Provinces of the Dominion of Canada where that condition of affairs does not exist. At this table alone, at all the tables in front of me, are men who have their friends at the front in one or other of those classes I have named. Men are engrossed in business, but the women folks in their lonely work at home brood over these conditions until, as you and I know, they are practically at the highest tension possible for human beings to attain and still keep their balance. Therefore it is proper that we should endeavour in every legitimate manner to comfort and soothe these people, and above all things, to abstain from anything that might unnecessarily or unduly excite them. There are, I regret to say, here and there, some who do not observe this principle. I might take the liberty of pointing out to this audience that some four or five weeks ago the Socialist Party in Germany, a very powerful party there, brought in a resolution demanding a statement of the expenditure of two millions of marks, about $500,000, in German money that had been voted in the early days of the war for the propagation of German sentiment and the control of newspapers and other avenues for reaching public opinion in the United States and Canada. The motion was voted down, and the return will therefore not be issued. This money, of course, is not handed round on the street corners ; it is insidiously spent ; and all I would suggest to our friends is, watch the gentlemen whom you find going up and down the country seeking to play on the nerves of the people, seeking to belittle those engaged in the cause, seeking to dispirit those engaged in recruiting and to discourage those enlisting. Watch these gentlemen. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, directly or indirectly, you will find those gentlemen amenable to the influences of those two millions of marks voted by the German people.

Before the war, peace societies in the United States and Canada were very active in attacking anyone who presumed to speak of preparedness for war ; yet it was shown recently at Washington by investigation committees of the United States Government that money from the peace societies was spent in influencing newspaper editors and others in the great cause of peace both previous to and subsequent to the outbreak of the war. Investigations at Washington since then have shown that among the large contributors to the peace organizations of the United States and Canada was the German Government. In other words, peace societies of the United States were engineered by German money ; not altogether, mark you—but the records of the United States enquiries show these things before the war and since the war. In short, they were preparing in their shot and shell factories in Germany for the war, and they were doubly preparing by dulling the public sentiment in Canada and throughout the world against war ; therefore when war broke out they were ready, while we were correspondingly unready.

For the first year of the war Canada had practically no control of her forces overseas. Let me repeat that expression ; for the first year of the war Canada had practically no control of her forces overseas.

In the second year of the war it had been ascertained that Bavaria—part of the German Confederation—Wurtemberg, Baden, Saxony, and some of the larger German principalities—all integral parts of the great Germanic Confederation—that each and every one of those controlled their own appointments, made their own promotions, absolutely controlled their own commands, although paid out of the German Imperial Exchequer ; while Canada, paying her own men, furnishing all her own supplies, bearing the entire cost of the whole arrangement, had not a similar privilege. It need not, therefore, surprise anyone to learn that those of us who were brought up under responsible government, took steps to see that Canada should be recognized in this matter, and that our promotions and appointments—while conceding to the British officer the command in the field, as we had a right to concede to him—that in all those other matters Canada, and Canada alone, should control those appointments.

Let me point out that I do not blame the British Government, but simply the officials, for Canada not having absolute control of those things at the front, as she should under responsible government.

Another matter which has concerned some friends, and has concerned me a good deal, is this. From the outset we have taken the stand that promotion should be by merit, and by merit alone. As I pointed out, for the first year of the war we had nothing to say in the matter. Then steps were taken, as I have stated, under the principles of responsible government, to see that our Canadian boys had a chance. I might point out that the British regular army had officers and staff enough to furnish outfit for an army of 150,000, and yet it had swollen to 4,500,000, and they still could furnish regular officers for the entire outfit, while

Canada had a little standing army of 3,000 permanent corps men about half officered, and those men were not considered inferior to active men of the militia ; those men you see around here, second to none in the British army, those men of the permanent active militia of Canada. We took the ground that those boys should have a fair show and be entitled to promotion. Further, other things being equal, the men who had taken the places in the front trenches should be considered as far as possible, consistent with their proficiency—because it does not stand to commonsense that every boy that has been sent to the trenches has turned out a Cæsar or Bonaparte—but as far as possible, efficiency and merit considered, the boys who had been doing duty in the trenches and who deserved it, should receive consideration. Let me point out that from the outset to the present moment that has been the line that I have endeavoured to pursue in all this matter.

On the occasion of our visit last year we found that thousands of our soldiers were not in Canadian hospitals. We found that our nurses, the best nurses we could get from all the institutions of Canada, were not nursing Canadian soldiers. We found that the splendid surgeons—I need not go outside of Toronto to point out the magnificent fellows who gave up thousands and tens of thousands a year and gave their services for the cause of the Canadian soldier—had never attended them ; but now they are on duty first and foremost for the soldiers of the Dominion of Canada. We let France look after her soldiers as well as she possibly can ; we let Britain look after her soldiers as well as she possibly can ; and where the men fall side by side on the field we carry theirs to our hospitals, as they carry ours to theirs ; but when the convalescent period comes on we have had at one period men who were absolutely passed the hospital period, and who had entered the convalescent period, who had lost weeks and months, and some of them a year of time, when they should have been back to the regiment, but who were spending their time at the hospitals not under our control. We then set to work and devised a plan for our convalescents. Therefore, as soon as our convalescents leave the General Hospital, they are taken into what we call convalescent homes, where our own boys are looked after by our own doctors and nurses, divided up into classes according to the degree of their being well, but the last class is absolutely fit, when they leave the convalescent home, to step into the trenches and take their places in the firing line. We made this change, and we restored fifty and sixty per cent. to the firing line within a given period instead of fifteen per cent., and we have spent in twelve months $6,000,000 on this very transaction. Without enlarging on that, I may say with regard to the general medical situation, we have the most magnificent lot of medical officers and nurses over there, all doing their work splendidly, and the attention that is being given to the matter now is more in the line of using to the best advantage our splendid medical and surgical skill. Take your own city of Toronto ; I need not tell you the class of doctors you have here. Canada will now have the full advantage of the great surgical skill she has sent over there.

Recruiting is dull. I shall not dwell on these matters. You have your business to attend to, and I want to get away for other functions, other duties. Let me point out, however, that the British-born, and the British-descent people of Canada have recruited more men, a higher percentage of British-born and British-descent, than have the islands of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. We have recruited upwards of ten per cent. of the British-born and British-descent people of the Dominion of Canada—a record of which we are proud. Unfortunately other parts of Canada—and I have made these statements to those people themselves, and purpose right along now to take the matter up with them—other parts of Canada, for reasons I am not going to criticize, have not done so well. Let me point out about the Province of Quebec. In that Province at the outbreak of war there were two city battalions of our French fellow-countrymen that were excellent, regarded as among the best. There was a rural battalion from Rimouski that was regarded as a very fine one. Throughout the length and breadth of other parts of Quebec there was scarcely a regiment, and there were no officers there, and here, let me say, one great reason the city of Toronto has done so well, and Hamilton, is that you have men of the calibre of the officers you see around here and in other parts of the country, ready to form a rallying centre for those lads to form around, and go to the front. That is the reason. The 65th of Montreal did splendidly in the 1st Contingent, and sent out a lot of men who have done splendidly. No better regiment can be shown than that of the old Montreal Regiment. Col. Frank Meighen commanded it then ; it is the 14th now, mostly British, but a considerable portion of them French. Montreal has done very good work wherever they have had an opportunity of showing themselves, and to-day we have two very fine regiments going to the front under Col. Papineau, and another one raised in the Rimouski district, a good many of the old Highland stock, wearing French names, and speaking the French language who are going to the Front. I have sized up the situation as kindly as I can. The great drawback has been the lack of officers around whom to rally these men. I am going to try and remedy that. I purpose going down to the Province of Quebec ; I have received the most kindly consideration from every part of that Province. There are people who do not want their sons to go to war. I am not concerned with that ; we find a few of that sort in other parts of the Dominion of Canada also ; but at the earliest possible convenience I propose going down to meet our friends in the Province of Quebec to furnish them the opportunity of rallying points throughout that Province, and I hope before the snows of this winter melt away, we will have many regiments from the Province of Quebec going to the front.

One other matter. The Prime Minister of Canada promised 500,000 men. I have no hesitation in saying here that last year, if Canada had the storage capacity, the places for putting them in, and if we had been in a position to equip those men, more than six months ago we could have had more than our 500,000 men ; but you gentlemen who are intimately associated with the matter know that we had to hold up on our recruiting wave of last year owing to the lack of accommodation and lack of equipment of our soldiers. But I feel satisfied that it is now being realized throughout the length and breadth of the liberty-loving world that this is a war for the triumph of every great principle of human liberty, or of human democracy ; that the lovers of human liberty are not going to stand idly by, no matter what other part of the Empire may fail in its duty ; the lovers of liberty throughout the Canadian part of the Empire, at all events, are determined to do their duty fearlessly and well in the trenches, and that although Toronto and every other part of the Dominion with few exceptions have all done well, that you will still do better, and ere spring comes that the ranks of new regiments will be filled up throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion of Canada, and that we will be able by March, early next summer, to join in the great cause of success for democracy at the front.

It has been my privilege to travel along the frontier, to meet the boys from the city of Toronto—some of your regiments happened to be in a brigade that I was visiting—and I met others of them in England, and I want to point out that all over, on every hand, we find but one spirit among these lads, that is, determination to do or die in the great cause. Many and many a soldier has been offered a commission at the front, and many and many a soldier has refused to accept, replying, "We decline to accept the commission ; we will stick by the old brigade, and stand or fall in the trenches." When we ask a young man to leave the ranks we have three conditions ; first, he must be willing to come ; second, he must be recognized by his officers ; and third, he must have the qualifications necessary to entitle him to be an officer. We find the last two time and again fulfilled, but I want to point to university graduates from the city who are to-day fighting in the trenches and who have refused to take out commissions, but who are standing by their old comrades in the trenches and doing their duty as Canadian soldiers fearlessly and well.

One more point and I am done. A good many people have again and again pointed out that unless you had a regular standing army you could not successfully carry on a war; many others holding the idea that a man in business who gives a portion of his time, whose mind is developed in his business training or occupation in life, and who gives a fair proportion of time to the cause of the militia—much more in many cases than do the gentlemen of the regular permanent service—that those gentlemen, other things being equal, would be the natural leaders of a democratic army at the front. The gallant lads you have seen from the Northwest, the boys you see around Toronto, trained in Toronto or any other part of Canada—keen, active-minded fellows—when they come down and get a little smattering of drill and rifle shooting that is necessary, are the equal of any men in that firing line. The records of St. Julien, or the second battle of Ypres, Festubert, Givenchy, and by no means least the salient at Zillebeke in June, and above all things, all this terrible fighting on the Somme, show that those boys, trained in civil life—your sons and my sons and friends throughout the length and breadth of Canada—are the equal of the best regular soldiers that the world has every produced.

We all regret the loss of many gallant sons, not only from your city, but from everywhere. I recall General Mercer, the lawyer, an expert rifleman and a trained soldier—brave, modest, one of the greatest men it has been the privilege of any army to have; I have that testimony from the highest in command. And you are going to honour the memory of a young lad, a mere boy, Col. Allan. I had a conversation with his Brigade Commander the last time I saw him in France, and he said, "I have such and such a lad in command now of this battalion, but he is hardly yet seasoned to the task, and I am waiting every day for Allan to come back." I saw Allan shortly afterwards in the hospital, and he expected to be back with his regiment in a very short time, and I was greatly shocked to find that he had passed over to the Great Beyond. These are only two of thousands and thousands of your lads that have done duty on the field of honour and brought credit to the great cause.

I shall not detain you longer, gentlemen. I thank you for the honour you have done me, and am glad to have had the opportunity of meeting you, my fellow soldiers and many old friends ; but I want to give a closing word. So long as the enemy is unconquered, so long is the great cause of human liberty in danger ; and so far as I am personally concerned—and I know I voice the sentiments of a great majority of the thinking people of this country—we will never rest content until autocracy is overthrown, and until liberty, both within the Empire and without the Empire, is guaranteed for at least a hundred years to come.

Hon. I. B. Lucas proposed the vote of thanks, which was seconded by Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell, and supported by Lieut.-Col. Craig, of Western Canada.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH IN CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR J. C. McLENNAN, PH.D., F.R.S.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 16, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is only on very rare occasions I leave the laboratory in the University of Toronto to speak in public ; but a variety of circumstances last spring led to my accepting the Presidency of the Royal Canadian Institute, and thus it became my duty to give some thought to questions associated with the scientific side of our industries. I will try to show, in the few minutes at my disposal, how in a number of different ways science had come to be of tremendous importance, not only to the industries of our country, but in the general working out of the affairs of the nation.

One thing that struck a scientist on coming back to this country from the Old Land was the exceedingly small extent to which the Canadian scientific men were making either direct or indirect contributions to the war. They were spending their time largely in training young men, whereas in a time of great national emergency like the present, every possible effort should be put forward, to bring to the aid of the State every scientific man who was capable of contributing anything to the solution of the great problem before us—namely, the winning of the war. A year ago it was the same in Great Britain, for the scientific professors were not summoned from their class-rooms to aid the State until the army and navy and other departments of Governments realized that they could not go on with the business of the war without them.

Extraordinary measures were adopted; powerful and able commissions secured the best scientific talent of Great Britain, and under the Admiralty and the War Office these scientific men are to-day assisting in every possible way. It was my privilege to be associated part of this summer with one of those Boards, and I had such an insight into their work as has kept my heart thrilling ever since. One of the depressing things to me on returning to Canada was to find prevalent the same attitude of complacency that existed in Great Britain a year and a half ago. We have not yet realized the tremendous effort that must be put forth to win this war. It is an effort involving the use and application of all scientific principles. We must contribute not only by our money and munitions, but we must adopt measures to utilize the scientific ability that exists in our midst.

I will give you two or three illustrations that came under my observation. It was found that our lines were being bombarded by enormous 42 centimetre guns far back from the trenches. The problem of locating those guns was presented to the scientists, for the aeroplanes could not find them, as they were hidden by branches of trees, etc. The problem was given to scientists trained in the principles of physics and mathematics. These worked out a plan first of all of registering vibrations at a number of different points. Every little vibration of every kind of gun was recorded, but every now and then a little tracing appeared somewhat higher than the others, which was due to the explosion from a 42 cm. gun located no one knew where. By measuring the distances between the recording stations to an exceedingly small fraction of an inch, and recording the infinitesimal amount of time between the instants when the vibration was recorded at the different stations, the position of the gun was precisely ascertained. The information was handed to the men in command of our large field guns, and they were told to turn their guns to a certain angle, raise them to a certain elevation, and fire. The 42 cm. gun of the enemy was immediately silenced.

Such precision as that was never heard of on a battlefield before, and Sir Douglas Haig sent back a report that it satisfied every requirement of the British Army.

I happened to arrive in England about the 28th of June, and heard from a friend that a certain kind of bomb had been invented for bringing down "sausage" balloons. He also told me that a whole squadron of aeroplane flyers had been trained to handle this bomb. The areoplanes were modified so that the bombs could be carried with ease and speed, and the flyers were trained to rise some 12,500 feet, suddenly swoop down, and when at the right position and going at the rate of about 105 miles an hour they were to let the bombs go. The idea was to bring down all the sausage balloons the Germans had placed up for observation opposite our lines. The "sausage" balloons had been left quite unmolested by us for a long period, and the Germans could not understand our inactivity in this direction. I think it was on Thursday night I spoke to my friend and he said, "You will find on Saturday all those 'sausage' balloons will come down, and the great 'push' will be made on Sunday." On Saturday evening I bought a paper—there had been no word in any paper of an attack—and it said, "13 sausage balloons brought down this afternoon." That will give you an idea of the precision with which all these things are worked out, and how scientific knowledge is brought to bear on such very important matters as come up in an attack such as we have had to make in these last days.

Then again it was found at Ypres and other places that when an attack was made, some of our forces were bombarded by our own guns—a most unfortunate thing—on account of telephonic communication being cut off between the artillery and the front trenches. This problem of finding new methods of maintaining such communication was handed over to the scientists, to Sir J. J. Thomson in particular, at Cambridge, and he handed it over to one of your citizens and sons, Mr. McLeod, of Deer Park. This young gentleman, I am glad to say, is one of two scientists who have recently devised an instrument which will emit signals that are detectable with ease at a distance of five miles. It is a portable instrument and can be easily carried. There is no doubt that its use will save the lives of hundreds of our brave lads who have gone to the front in the great cause of Freedom.

Again, when the zeppelin menace became threatening in England they had not a single zeppelin in that country, and did not know how to make one. After a year and a half they have to-day in Great Britain an enormous factory in the North of Scotland where they are turning out lighter than air machines that can out-speed the German zeppelins. They were used on the occasion of the last two attacks when two of the enemy's craft were brought down. The attacking zeppelins were herded together by them, as it were, and this enabled the aeroplanes and the corps in charge of the anti-aircraft guns to concentrate their fire. Improvements in these guns, the use of incendiary bullets and co-operation in the various means of defence have practically wiped out the zeppelin menace in England. As a scientific man, knowing something about this particular problem, I know I am safe in saying that the zeppelin menace is pretty well discounted.

To give an idea of the colossal extent of the work that is being done, I happened a year ago last summer to visit an area where there was nothing but level ground ; to-day over an area of 15 miles by 16 you will find small buildings dotted all over, perhaps 100 yards apart, with enormous factories, and little light railways running between them. These buildings are filled with munitions of all kinds and the factories are busy making more. I did not think it was humanly possible for such structures to be put up by the nation in one year. Again, if you visit the aeroplane factory at Farnborough you will find buildings covering an area of about 300 acres, all erected practically within one year, and devoted entirely to planning and constructing aeroplanes. In another part of the country you will also find enormous factories producing what are called the "Beta" observation balloons that patrol up and down the Straits of Dover.

At present a tremendous effort is being put forth to devise ways and means for detecting and destroying submarines. It is probably the most difficult problem yet handed out to the scientists. The ablest physicists in England to-day are cudgelling their brains with all the energy that is in them to devise means of detecting and destroying those pests. To-day we have instruments that will detect submarines about four and a half miles in calm weather, and about one and three-quarter miles in stormy weather ; that is about the limit of what can be done with thoroughly scientific methods in a quite definite way. With that information the whole of the North Sea and part of the English Channel is being charted every day ; we can tell how many submarines are in that area at any one time, and means are being provided all the time to round them up and sink them. It is a colossal piece of work, but the Germans are now so busy constructing those submarines that it looks as though their activity is a little ahead of ours. From what I know, however, I can assure you that every effort is being put forward by the British people and the British scientists to reduce the submarine menace.

Now the problems we have to face are not all associated with the prosecution of the war. Anyone who has followed the course of this war must be almost amazed at the stupendous rate at which the national debt is being increased. In the Old Country it is simply colossal. In this country we are piling up a debt that is almost paralyzing in its immensity, and anyone who is at all scientific cannot help wondering in looking forward to the future, how we are going to face that debt. Are we going to do our duty by it, or are we to go into bankruptcy ? Although the people of Great Britain are spending enormous sums, they have made up their mind they are going to pay their debt ; and if you observe what is going on in their industries you will find that already, while they are making these tremendous efforts and carrying this tremendous load, they are also at the same time preparing to pay their debt. They are going to do it by making their exports more valuable than their imports, cutting down expenses as much as possible and increasing in every possible way their manufactures. We ought to be doing the same thing. If our exports are not going to be greater than our imports, we are not going to become wealthy as a nation, and we are not going to meet our indebtedness as we ought to do. When you face the problem as to how we can make our exports more important than they are to-day, you may turn from one industry to another but you will, I think, end up with agriculture, which you will realize is the greatest industry we have in Canada to-day. Now, are we getting the best out of our efforts in agriculture ? Are we making the farmers comfortable ? Are we building good roads for them ? Are we providing a suitable education for their children ? Are we bringing electricity to their doors to facilitate their farming operations ? I think we are in a measure, and we will have to continue to do that in order to induce people to come to us and to stay on our farms. But we must adopt measures far more profound and far-reaching if we are going to make any important contribution to the wealth of the nation through our farming operations. For example, 25 bushels an acre is a very good crop of wheat in this country ; but in Belgium and Germany and France, and in beautiful Midlothian, you will see wheat standing almost solid and so thick that it will almost carry a board laid on the top of it. There the farmers get from 40 to 43 bushels per acre. If we could increase our crop to that figure money would roll in for us very readily and easily. Moreover, the thing can be done if we will follow the methods of the Old Country and increase our fertilization of the soil. How are we going to do that ? You will find that we will have to use calcium, phosphate, and nitrate salts, for the renewal and enrichment of the soil. How are we going to get them ? In Western Alberta we have large deposits of minerals carrying such salts. As yet it does not pay to work them by methods known at present. There is where science comes in ; there is a definite problem which scientists can solve ; you have merely to state your problem, put your man in the position of solving it and it will be done. We want to utilize every ounce of strength to solve that problem, but we are only now beginning to think of attacking such problems in a methodical and scientific way.

When Germany found its stocks of cotton cut off, and its supplies of nitrates from Chili, they did not say, "We will stop the war !" but they started to get the nitrogen from the air by fixing it with other chemical compounds, and to-day they are carrying on the war with nitric acid made in factories that have been put up in the last two years. All their original supplies are gone, but their scientific men have come forward and have devised methods for the fixation of nitrogen from the atmosphere, and on that very account they can supply the ammunition needed at the front. The United States realizes that Great Britain is preparing not only for the winning of this war, but for enormously increasing her export trade in order to pay her debt. Anyone reading the *Saturday Evening Post* of last week would think it was a crime for Britain to do that,—to get ready to pay her debt. The writer of an article in that periodical goes on to say that Great Britain is trying to capture the trade of the world. Nothing of the kind. Great Britain is out to pay its enormous debt caused through the prosecution of the war ; that is the point of view to keep in front of you. When the Americans were asked to prepare for eventualities a short time ago their President showed considerable wisdom by at once asking all the scientific men to come together in the National Academy and form a council to advise him. One of the first things that this body did was to ask for $20,000,000 to make fertilizers. They said that because they knew it would at once make an enormous contribution to the wealth of the country by increasing the product of the farms ; but they did it for another reason—they knew that the process required for making that fertilizer was the very one which would furnish them with supplies of nitric acid for the manufacture of ammunition. They know that in peace time they would have, with the money asked for, factories which would be capable of making quantities of fertilizers which would make their country prosperous and, at the same time, they would have these same factories ready to make nitric acid for ammunition for war in case the nitrate supplies from Chili were cut off by an enemy. Thus, in a practical way they have something to help them in war. How does that affect us ? In this way ; you will find the Americans will say, "We have $20,000,000 to spend ; we have the country behind us ; the best way to spend that money to get this fertilizer will be to produce it in the neighbourhood of waterfalls." Thus you will soon see a great movement coming on to utilize every bit of energy produced at Niagara Falls and at the Long Sault in the St. Lawrence ; every effort will be made to dam up that water and use it for the production of electric energy. Are you going to be prepared, when the Americans bring that forward, to say, "Very good, you take half and we will take the other half ?" What are you going to do with the other half when you get it ? Are you going to allow the Americans to come over here and build factories and make fertilizers that they will then take over to the other side to fertilize their own fields ? If you go to Niagara Falls you will find an enormous factory using 30,000 H.P. of the power developed on this side, and with it making fertilizers to enrich the cotton fields of the Southern United States—Prof. Baekeland has brought that out recently in *Scribner's Magazine*, and so I am justified in referring to it here. They are using 30,000 H.P. of your portion of the electrical energy and making fertilizers for their own country while you are begging for power for running your own industries. That is a state of affairs which you have allowed to come to pass. When the enormous development comes that I am predicting, are you going to allow the same thing to go on, or will you be ready—have you enough snap and foresight—to utilize the energy which will be rendered available for you for the development of your own industries? Will you see to it that Canadian capital or British capital, not foreign capital, will be directed towards the utilization of the energy which will soon be available for you? You want scientific advice; there you have it and you have it cheaply. See to it at once that the squandering of the resources of our own country ceases. Develop, but develop by yourselves for yourselves. Do not hand over the development to foreign controlled organizations. What a story I could tell you about national squandering. We are giving away our metals, our nickel, our pulp woods, our timber, to foreign controlled organizations. You are greatly surprised these days at our nickel going out of the country, and you are making a great deal of fuss about whether it gets to the German market or not. I do not believe you need worry much about it, because the most effective force to stop it from getting to Germany to-day is not your legislation, but it is the British Navy—and I know what I am saying. But does it ever occur to you that there is not very much being given to us for the nickel that is passing right out of your country by the train-load. If *you* could sell it—if it were *yours* to sell, what a magnificent contribution it would make to your national treasury! How it would help you to liquidate your debt. Now we have such things as export duties, and there is a time when export duties count; they count when people will insist on having what you have got to sell. If you have an article that the world must have, and you want money to pay your debts, there is a very effective way—let it go, but as it goes, clap something on top of it which is going to give you something back. That is the advice of a scientific man; that is the way we handle our problems up at the University; we don't worry very much where energy is going, but we get something out of it as it passes by.

My message to you to-day is to urge you to organize your industries on a scientific basis and to co-ordinate in every way your industrial efforts. You must get our Universities into closer touch with your business organizations; you must learn to respect science because if you do not circumstances will compel you to do it. You must learn that you cannot go on in the same old way your fathers went. This country can become prosperous only by making your industries scientific. You should introduce into your industries every scientific man that is available. Think of what is going on now! In the last seven years I have seen thirteen or fourteen of my ablest students leave this country for the United States—your sons who took brilliant careers in our Universities; and who, you were proud to know, had obtained positions in life, but you hang your head in shame when you learn that those positions were in the United States; that is where your sons had to go to make a living. You have a magnificent University up in the City Park, but how many of you gentlemen were ever in the chemical or physical laboratory? How many of you know what it is like inside these buildings? How many of you know what we work at from day to day? You never come there to see; it is an ornament with you as yet; it is not fastened on to your industry. Now, it is a vital organization; it is one of the greatest forces for good you have in your community, and as a scientific man I ask you, I beg of you, to get hold of the spirit of the professors there and infuse that spirit into your industries. The competition outside is so great that you have got to pit the fertility of your brains against those of outside competition. Don't let our best brains go to the United States to build up rival industries there. It is a deplorable state of affairs to have the best Canadian intellects going to that side of the line to be rivals for those that are left behind. But it is all due to your apathy, your lack of love of science and scientific methods.

To be practical, how is this going to work out? I have recommended and others have recommended that the Government should appoint a commission of some kind, or get together the scientific men into some sort of an organization, so that we shall have an official means of correlating all our activities and of finding out just what problems we have to solve, and what men we have in the country able to solve them. I hope that action will be taken very soon that will result in such a commission being organized. Sir George Foster writes me that he hopes to have such a commission in operation before he leaves for England. That means that we are doing something here ; it means that we are getting on ; but locally we must work out something for ourselves. In the Royal Canadian Institute we have an institution which may be able to help you. On its Board there are a number of members of the scientific staff of the University ; there are also representatives from the Board of Trade, the Society of Chemical Industry, and the Manufacturers' Association. We want to make that institute a sort of a club or home of science where we can meet you and talk about the application of scientific principles to your industries. It may be that members of the institute can make suggestions to you which you will find helpful in your work, and no doubt you will be able to make suggestions that will be helpful to them. We have in the library of the institute about 10,000 volumes, embracing the proceedings of many of the great scientific societies of the world. There is also the Reference Library of the city, the University Library, and the Parliamentary Library in close proximity. One of the objects we have in view at the present time is to extend our library so that it will include not only the scientific publications, but also the trade and technical journals of all countries. We hope to receive such financial aid from the manufacturing interests and from the Dominion Government as will enable us to do this very soon. We also intend to take steps to institute an Information Bureau in connection with the institute. I do not know that this is properly one of the functions of a modern university, but it might very well be part of the work of an institution like the Royal Canadian Institute. Suppose you wanted to find out information about the technique of an industry, the manufacture of a product, where would you go ? You would probably send to Mr.

Fetherstonhaugh, who is overloaded with his work. Such a bureau as I have indicated should prove of great value to you. We wish also to stimulate the manufacturers in our midst to establish research laboratories in connection with their works. Mr. Little, who is going to address you shortly, will tell you how many great corporations like the General Electric Company, are spending large sums, $200,000 a year for example, on purely research work. Such an expenditure on research these firms find is returned to them tenfold. The Pennsylvania Railway, the United States Steel Corporation, and many others in the United States have established research laboratories in connection with their works, and I believe the Massey-Harris people, the Gutta Percha Rubber Co., the Hamilton Steel Works, and others in Canada are following their example. This should be general all over the country ; every large industry should have a research laboratory at its back infusing the research spirit, giving information about technic, improving processes, etc., etc. The cost of carrying on these research laboratories in connection with some industries will sometimes be found so large that national help will have to be given. It works out this way in the Old Country—in the dyeing industry for example, where the problem was so large and the necessary expenditure so great that all the dyeing interests had to get together not only for instructional purposes, but also for financial reasons as well. You will find that the pottery interests, too, have got together in England, and research institutions have been set up by the British Government to assist both of these industries. As for the small manufacturer he can bring his problem to the University for solution. If the University cannot offer the requisite research facilities, some of us are advocating the installation in connection with organizations like Royal Canadian Institute, of laboratories that can take care of the smaller problems. Such laboratories we feel would meet a very pressing need.

These, gentlemen, are a few of the things we are thinking about, and I would ask you to consider whether you cannot spare time to take an interest in this scientific movement. It is the greatest movement that has gone over this country for years. To-day you are all very busy manufacturing munitions and other articles used in the prosecution of the war. But what is to become of all the plant you have installed for ammunition-making ? You want advice as to how to use that plant after the war is over. If the Commission on Industrial Research to which I have alluded were instituted, one of the first steps it would take would be to make a census of all the plants in this country and send out information telling those interested how they could turn their machines and instruments into making things required in the time of peace. These are the things we have to think about. It is not enough for professors in universities to think about these things or to say what an idealized world this should be. In a democratic country like this it is for you people to take the lead, and you will find the scientific men ready to help you. There must be co-operation and mutual confidence in handling the problem before us. It is a worthy problem, and one we must face if we are going to meet the appalling debt that is being heaped up because of the prosecution of the war.

Sir Melvin Jones moved a vote of thanks to the speaker, which was carried.

CANADA'S FISHERY RESOURCES

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR EDWARD PRINCE, LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 23, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—No one glancing with an intelligent eye over the map of Canada can doubt that her fisheries rank amongst the greatest in the world. With two oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, washing her eastern and western sea-boards, with a silver network over her interior expanse, of lakes, lakelets, rivers and streams, comprising half the fresh water of the globe, it is no marvel that the Dominion fisheries are unrivalled. Think of the Great Lakes (comparable to, if not surpassing, the superb lake-system of equatorial Africa),—think of the noble rivers which close at hand, or through her remotest limits, speed their course, the colossal St. Lawrence, famed in history as in commerce, the giant Mackenzie, 2,500 miles long ; the Saskatchewan (including the Bow), 1,200 miles, the Nelson, 1,600 miles, the Peace and Churchill, each 1,000 miles, the Fraser, 695 miles, the Ottawa, 685 miles, and fifty other noble rivers, the Restigouche, the St. John, the Miramichi, the Saguenay, the Natashquan, which for scenery and salmon angling are without rivals, unless they be the lovely historic rivers of "Bonnie Scotland !"

CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN WATERS COMPARED

Canada's area as you all know is 3,729,665 sq. miles, an area bigger than the United States by 112,000 sq. miles, even with Alaska included ; and nearly

200,000 sq. miles of it covered by fresh water. I have been over nearly all this immense territory, and know well the waters and their finny tribes from the Alaska boundary on the North-West, and the Peace River and Lesser Slave Lake, away east to the Bay of Fundy and Grand Manan, and I try in vain to picture to myself the exhaustless riches we possess beneath the waves. What a contrast with Australia, with her 3,063,000 sq. miles of land, having practically one great river only, the Murray, 1,200 miles long, and its giant tributaries, and twenty or thirty inferior rivers, and few lakes, excepting salt ones !

I have been in that distant and noble part of our Empire and saw something of her parched condition in time of drought, even the Murray River, 70 feet deep in some places, was dried up here and there.

VALUE OF OUR FISHERIES UNDERESTIMATED

But, gentlemen, it is not my intention to burden this short address with fishery statistics, imposing though the figures may be. I will only say that the $35,000,000 officially stated to be the annual value, falls far short of the actual value. We must remember that whole tribes of Indians, Eskimos, remote trading posts (especially Hudson's Bay forts), mining and hunting camps, trappers, prospectors, lonely settlers and explorers, consume large quantities of fish, impossible to record or even to estimate. Let me give one example. Near the mouth of the Mackenzie River in 1905, an official found 20,000 dried fish, chiefly the "Inconnu," the peculiar Mackenzie River salmon, praised as a food fish one hundred years ago by Dr. Richardson. These fish range from 15 lbs. to 40 lbs. each, and this catch, at one camp on Arctic Red River alone, must have weighed about 200 tons. Over 100,000 persons are engaged in fishing, curing and handling fish, nearly 2,000 large fishing vessels and 38,536 smaller craft, 11,097 being gasoline motor boats, are employed.

SEVEN FISHERY DIVISIONS

A bird's eye view of the fisheries may be best afforded by dividing Canada up into seven fishery divisions : (1) The Atlantic deep-sea fisheries, including the famous cod-banks, extending from the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and Labrador to Sable Island and Brown's Bank, off Nova Scotia and the Bay of Fundy. Cod, mackerel, haddock, halibut, herring, hake, seals, and whales, are taken of an annual value of $12,000,000. (2) The estuarine and inland waters of the Maritime Provinces and Quebec. Salmon, shad, gaspereaux, striped bass, smelt, fresh-water salmon, trout, lake trout, pickerel or doré, etc., form the catches, valued at $4,000,000. (3) The Great Lakes and tributary waters. Lake whitefish, lesser whitefish, erroneously called lake herring, pike-perch, or yellow pickerel, black bass, maskinonge, catfish, etc., are the principal species, $3,000,000 value. (4) North-West waters from Lake of the Woods to Lesser Slave Lake. Whitefish, sturgeon, tullibee, pike and gold-eye, an excellent true fresh-water herring, sturgeon (and caviare), $1,000,000 in value. (5) The Rocky Mountain Plateau, embracing little developed fisheries. Lake varieties of Pacific salmon occur, whitefish, trout, including the splendid red throat, the sluggish Dolly Varden, the handsome rainbow, and fine grayling, one of which is really a Rocky Mountain whitefish of good game qualities, though called grayling. (6) Pacific Coast fisheries, under which come the great salmon canning and curing industries, the immense halibut fisheries, also black cod, herring, oolachan or candle fish, smelt, rock-cod, dogfish, whale, and other fisheries. The value is $14,000,000. (7) The Peri-Arctic and Hudson Bay division (Ungava Bay to the Mackenzie River) embracing whale, walrus, sea-trout, herring, sturgeon, inconnu, a large river whitefish, pike or jackfish, pickerel or doré, and possibly cod and salmon. The richest whale and walrus grounds in the world occurred in these tidal channels of Canada's arctic archipelago,—which, as Sir John Schultz nearly 30 years ago said, are "the last home of the leviathans, which within the memory of living men, have been driven from Newfoundland latitudes to the places where their survivors have now sought retreat."

THREE UNIQUE FEATURES IN OUR FISHERIES

There are three features characteristic of our fisheries, in which no other fisheries can equal them, viz.:

(1) The purity and coolness of our waters, all being north of the 45th parallel of N. latitude. In such waters the inferior fish of warmer climes cannot live. Salmon, trout, cod, whitefish, the best food and game fishes, the very aristocracy of the fish-world, are native of our waters.

(2) The cold winter-conditions provide Nature's own refrigeration on a vast scale. In no other country can fish be so effectively kept fresh, transported and preserved, cheaply and perfectly. Our winter means millions of dollars to the fishing industries.

(3) Fish are everywhere. Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, the distinguished Canadian explorer, whom I am glad to see present on this occasion, has told us that some remote northern lakes, practically frozen over the whole year, were found by him to be crowded with fine whitefish.

FISHERIES OUR MOST PERMANENT RESOURCE

Fishing can be carried on by even those with the least capital, and with a small outfit—a boat, a net, baited hooks. These are all, excepting, of course, a fishing license ! When one realizes that this harvest of our waters, is sown, grows, increases without man's aid or effort, unlike agriculture, or mining, or lumbering; no labour or great capital needed, just the equipment and skill needed to reap the harvest and secure the crop, how should our people value it ! Moreover, the harvest of our seas and lakes is almost independent of national and international crises. The herds on the pastures, the grain in the fields, the hay on the prairies, the fruit in the orchards, the produce of the land generally, may be destroyed in time of war, or by natural calamities. We think of the fields of continental Europe now, devastated and yielding no bountiful food products, while the storm of war rages. It is otherwise with the fisheries. The silvery legions of the sea, the finny armies in our lakes and rivers are little affected by war on land, or sea, or in the air. They are amongst the most available, reliable, and lasting of our natural resources.

RECKLESS WASTE IN FISHING INDUSTRIES

Yet how prodigally, how criminally have we wasted these treasures of the sea and lake and river. Wasteful methods of fishing, destruction of fish at spawning times, slaughter of immature fish, ignorant and incompetent handling and preservation of fish, evasion and violation of laws and regulations for protecting and conserving fish—such has been our policy.

Not long ago lobsters were looked upon as a nuisance by eastern salmon-trap fishermen, crushed under foot, and thrown on the land. Sturgeon and smelt were used for fertilizer. Even sportsmen would pile up black bass and trout on rocks and on the beach, in haste to make "record catches," and leave them to rot and putrefy. I have myself seen 20,000 salmon thrown from a wharf in Northern British Columbia because the fishermen would continue to catch them, and the canners would not can them, being of a less valuable kind than the esteemed "sockeye salmon." To-day such salmon, the "Pink," or humpback, are of such importance that in recent years they have formed about one-sixth of the total British Columbia pack.

The shad is an esteemed and valuable fish, but so scarce in Canada now that they bring a high price. Years ago in one spot, Scott's Bay, at the upper end of the Bay of Fundy, 50,000 shad were taken on a tide. In 1872-73 no less than 100,000 were taken by three seines in the same place; to-day a few hundred is all that can be caught. The "shadmen" (said one witness before my Shad Commission in 1908) could not take care of their big catches, and had to let some go adrift. Thousands were wasted because they had not enough salt to cure them. Michael Doyle, the father of the Toronto fish trade, who came here in 1862, told of Toronto Island fishermen bringing in boats loaded down with lake trout and with whitefish. They glutted the market and were piled outside on the sidewalks. On the Prince Edward County shore 1,000 to 6,000 Lake Ontario whitefish would be seined at one time. That was fifty years ago, and it sounds like a fairy tale. I have no time to point out the wasteful methods of curing of fish, resulting in vast money losses every year. Canadian salt-herring I have known sell for $2 or $3 ; indeed $4 or $5 per barrel was a good price ; but Scotch and Norwegian herring (better packed, that is all) brought $10, $15, or even $20, per barrel. Again, great quantities of good fish are used as offal. "Five fish are thrown away for each halibut caught in British Columbia," said a well-known authority. Some people will not eat an eel, others will not eat a "lawyer" (I can understand that because a lawyer may be tough). It is the lake cusk or fresh-water ling and could be utilized on our tables ; but the wolf-fish, the rock blenny, the angler or goosefish, the skate, and twenty other kinds, are of great value as food. Dr. Huntsman, who is in charge of the Atlantic Biological Station, arranged to place on the dinner table there recently many of these despised fish, and some were exceedingly good and none of the staff were poisoned or he and I would not be here to-day!

CANADIAN FISH-RATION APPRECIATED BY OUR SOLDIERS

Some of these excellent fish, despised by us, have been included in the great shipments sent to our soldiers in Europe, and all have been appreciated. We have deliberately thrown away millions of tons of fine edible material. But we have polluted and obstructed our waters, too. I have tried on my part, as Commissioner of Fisheries, to stem the tide of this waste. It seems often a thankless task. One feels like the soldier in the trenches, who described the risks of warfare to a friend : "If yer stand up (he said) yer gets sniped. If yer keeps down yer gets drowned ; if yer moves about yer gets shelled, and if yer stand still yer gets court-martialled for frost-bite !"

EVIL INFLUENCE OF FISH-COMBINE

I have one more disagreeable thing to say and that is,—"We have allowed foreign firms to monopolize our fisheries." Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, these cities have dictated our prices, and great combines in those centres have secured our catches and taken our fish from us. Agents are everywhere, sparing no effort to prevent Canadians getting their own excellent fish, because big United States cities want them. That has been dealt with officially, and will be more effectively dealt with, in the future.

A word or two on the fish-food question. People have the impression that fish are not as nutritious, and not so substantial a food, as butcher meat. It is a gross popular error. The Norsemen are all fish eaters, so are the Highlanders, and the Eskimos, and a majority of the Indian tribes, and where are stronger, braver, more stalwart men ? The Japs are fish-eaters, and we know how courageously they fought the Russians. My friend, Major Hugh Green, as most of you know, carried successfully through a great scheme for supplying fish to our Dominion troops across the sea. In spite of difficulties, our Canadian boys in khaki have had an abundant fish ration provided, and the prowess and bravery of the heroes of the "Maple Leaf" have not diminished in consequence. Why, since the fish-ration was served, I think the Germans have found them more to be feared than ever ! Moreover, many of the fine fish shipped for the army are the very fish I referred to, *i.e.*, in many cases fish not in favour in Canada.

WHY FISH-FOOD IS BEST AND CHEAPEST

The great cry, in these times of hardship and sacrifice, is for cheap food. Fish is positively the cheapest, and why ? (1) It has less waste (no fat or large bones).

(2) It is more easily masticated and digested, the fish-muscle breaks up easily after being swallowed. Compare, gentlemen, a choice cut of halibut, or salmon, with a tough, skinny piece of steak, the bullock that provided it having probably ploughed many a furrow, not alone. (3) It is as rich, practically, as beef or mutton in essential qualities. Even the homely herring (the most recent authority, Professor Hopkins, F.R.S., Cambridge, England, tells us) is fully equal to beef or mutton in nutritive value to man. Its protein is 18.6%, as compared with 22.4% in lean beef. The fat in the herring is 3.44%. The fat in beef is 4%. His experiments showed that, so far as proteins are concerned, smoked fish is as digestible as fresh fish, and salting diminishes this quality a little, but not much. How often in country hotels I have longed for a herring or a bit of fried haddock, when a tough piece of steak, or a leathery mutton chop, or hard piece of fried liver, was placed before me to make me ill. With the war, a meat shortage has threatened us, and we must turn to the food-supply from our waters, where a never-failing source of the best quality awaits us.

HOW TO MAKE FISH POPULAR AND CHEAP

But I may be told that fish is dear. If so, it is the American combines who make it so. I know that the finest whitefish in the North-west lakes are sold by our fishermen for 1½ or 2 cents per pound, and, on nearer waters, for 2½ cents to 3 cents, rarely more, and no Canadian should be asked to pay 12, or 15 to 20 cents or even 25 cents per pound for Canadian fish anywhere. Ten cents should be the price, and less. Let our M.P.'s be asked to personally look into the matter and do, as one Manitoba M.P. did, compel the big firms to give Canada the preference rather than Chicago, and compel them to sell at half the usual prices now charged. Our fish should reach us in the best condition, better than it often does. Even smoked fish, like kippers or finan haddies, are not equal to the article one gets in Scotland. But the Biological Board of

Canada, of which I am chairman, in some recent experiments, produced some of the finest of these fish I ever tasted. Professor Macallum had the experiments in hand, and Dr. Huntsman took part, and Miss Patterson, an M.D. of Toronto University, and they found no reason why our fish should not equal the best produced in Scotland.

Four requisites seem to be necessary :

(1) Getting rid of foreign control of our fish and fisheries.

(2) More energy and enter priseon the part of our fishermen and dealers.

(3) A more fair and generous policy on the part of railways and express companies.

(4) Better handling of fish, more expedition and care, from the moment the fish are caught, till placed in the hands of the cook.

GOVERNMENT METHODS OF CONSERVATION

Gentlemen, you remember the Scottish church officer who was asked by the visiting minister from another parish if he had preached too long, and the reply was "Well, I canna say ye preached too long, minister, but I will say ye passed several fine stopping places." Gentlemen, I fear that I have passed several fine stopping places, and a few words more will end my hasty sketch of a vast subject. The Dominion Government have without question tried to conserve the fisheries since Confederation. This has been done by

(1) A system of fishery licenses and leases.

(2) By fish hatcheries, 65 in number, and turning out over one billion, six hundred million, fry each season.

(3) By regulations providing close seasons, specifying kinds of gear, prohibition of pollutions, dams, etc.

(4) By bounties to deep-sea fishermen.

(5) By a Fisheries' Intelligence Bureau, telegraphing daily the state of bait supplies, movements of fish, etc.

(6) By Fishery Research Stations, with which I have special relation as Chairman of the Biological Board, which has supervision over the Atlantic, Pacific, and Great Lakes Stations. Staffs of workers from all our universities, 30 to 40 each season, are occupied with fishery investigations of the highest value, and publish technical papers.

(7) Instruction in curing fish, etc., by qualified practical experts, for example, the herring curing and packing work, 1904-1907, by a Scottish staff.

(8) By the Fisheries' Inspection and Pure Fish-Food regulations.

(9) By bait freezers, and Government aided fish refrigerators.

(10) By Fish Oil and Fertilizer Works, and Experimental Fish-Drying Establishments.

(11) By aiding in the rapid and cheap transportation of fish from the sea coasts to the interior.

PUBLIC OPINION NEEDED

With all these active means operating, you may well ask, "What lack we yet?" The only thing really lacking is the support of the public. A clearly-expressed public opinion is vitally needed. I once told Lord Grey that fishermen and anglers who violated the fishery laws, or evaded or abused them, were often viewed as martyrs, and the fishery officers who prosecuted them and secured convictions were regarded as cruel, vindictive and worthy of dismissal by the Government. The Fishery Service, Dominion and Provincial, has a hard task; but the lack of public opinion has made it harder.

CONCLUSION

"Nature," Wordsworth said, "never did betray the heart that loved her,"—nor the hand (I would add) that helped her. The seas and inland waters are prodigal of life to a degree which baffles our powers of calculation. A cod annually produces five to nine million young (more than the population of Canada), a mackerel three millions to five millions ; a herring 30,000 to 40,000 ; a salmon 5,000 to 25,000. The finny population would overcrowd the waters beyond even their vast capacity ; but Nature provides her own remedies. Man is one destructive agency. Let him then wisely aid by harvesting the fisheries rationally and conserving them effectively.

A vote of thanks was heartily carried.

CANADA'S RURAL PROBLEM

AN ADDRESS BY W. G. GOOD, ESQ., B.A.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
November 30, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—My purpose to-day is to present to you, from the standpoint of our common humanity and our common Canadian citizenship, some facts relative to the condition of Canadian agriculture as it has existed in the last 15 or 20 years and as it exists to-day; and to draw your attention to some of the important things which we should take to heart very seriously in this connection. I will begin by reading a statement by Dr. J. W. Robertson, whom you possibly know by reputation if in no other way. In one of the reports of the Commission on Conservation he says:

> "Agriculture is not only an occupation which some individuals follow for profit; it is a great national interest, determining in a dominant way the fortunes of this nation and the opportunities and the character of the population. So, while the improving of Canadian agriculture primarily concerns the farmer and his family, it affects the status of Canada, its outlook and its destiny."

Gentlemen, I think I may say without fear of successful contradiction that, of all the industries which contribute to man's welfare, agriculture is the most important, and this is true despite the fact that other industries, or shall we say vocations, may contribute more directly to the welfare of man's higher nature. It is true not only because agriculture is the largest, most important and most fundamental of our primary industries, but also because the country, which is closely identified with agriculture, supplies the men and women who lead in all the other industries and vocations. I think this notable fact should attract our attention more than it does: leadership comes from the country; city life in a few generations is extinguished. All life, whether country or city, comes ultimately more or less directly from those connected with Old Mother Earth. The country is the seed-bed of the whole population, and those who are concerned with the quality of the seed which they sow, should remember that as the quality is in our country district so will the nation be in the years to come.

Now, this notable fact is not accidental; there are reasons for it, and though time does not permit full discussion I would like to mention some reasons why agriculture occupies this unique position.

Firstly, agriculture—and I will include the minor industries of lumbering and fishing—has practically a monopoly of fresh air and sunshine. Moreover, the farm affords the very best opportunity for an abundant supply of good food; these three things are of supreme importance in the life of the growing generation.

Secondly, agriculture as an industry may be called domestic, and is in this respect very sharply contrasted with the various city industries. On the farm the whole family co-operates in carrying on the farm work, and those here who have been born and brought up in the country will understand what that means; will appreciate the manifold opportunities there are for little children to co-operate with their parents in carrying on the farm work, and by so doing to learn how to do things and how to think, which are very important.

Thirdly, agriculture is seasonal. There is a very close connection between the farmer's work and the weather. The farmer must work with nature, for if he attempts to work against nature his work comes to naught; hence, his farm work is very varied and calls for a very unusual degree of adaptability, initiative and resourcefulness. These things are developed by farm work, and in this, too, farming contrasts very sharply with a great many city industries in which the work is largely routine, at least for the majority of those concerned.

Fourthly, country life is quiet, while city life has many disturbing distractions and interrruptions ; hence, country life encourages continuity of thought and develops strength of character. Man needs, for his highest welfare, to get away to the mountain-top, so to speak, and there commune with his Maker ; and in the country one has greater opportunities for that sort of thing than in the city.

In this connection I would like to read a short extract from one of Wordsworth's poems, written at the time of the tremendous upheaval of the French Revolution. It is very interesting, while reading this, to bear in mind Wordsworth's own experience at that time. He had been more or less disillusioned after he came back from France and saw the results of the Revolution. Note in the following the influences that gave him strength and solace :

"......................Once again I see
These hedgerows, hardly hedgerows, little lines
Of sportive wood run wild : these pastoral farms,
Green to the very door ; and wreaths of smoke
Sent up in silence, from among the trees ;

..................These beauteous forms
Through a long absence have not been to me
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye :
But oft, in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din
Of towns and cities, I have owed to them
In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood and felt along the heart ;
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration :—feelings, too,
Of unremembered pleasure ; such, perhaps,
As have no slight or trivial influence
On that best portion of a good man's life,
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love. No less, I trust,
To them I may have owed another gift,
Of aspect more sublime : That blessed mood
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,

> Is lightened ;--that serene and blessed mood
> In which the affections gently lead us on,—
> Until, the breath of this corporeal frame,
> And even the motion of our human blood
> Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
> In body, and become a living soul :
> While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
> We see the life of things."

It is very significant that poetry finds its inspiration chiefly in the country ; and I have noticed that every art gallery I have visited shows the deep and abiding interest which the human heart takes in rural and domestic life. I was very much impressed with this a few years ago in one of the galleries in Montreal.

Finally, it seems to me that the continuance of democracy is dependent very largely upon agriculture. The perpetuation of a sturdy and independent yeomanry is one of the best guarantees we have for the perpetuation of democracy ; and my faith is that democracy is the only system of government that is destined to last, the only system which contains within itself the seeds of continuity and life. From that point of view we should regard the maintenance of an independent and intelligent class in the rural districts as of vital importance to any country.

Now, in Canada there is still another reason why agriculture should be and is of paramount importance ; and that is the close connection between the condition of agriculture and our financial condition as a nation. In the 30 years prior to the outbreak of the war the bonded debt of our railways increased, roughly speaking, by $1,250,000,000 ; the Federal debt increased by $300,000,000 ; the per capita expenditure through the Federal Government more than doubled ; debenture and floating debts of municipalities trebled or quadrupled. All things totalled, we were labouring under a debt of some $4,000,000,000, which figures out at about $2,000 per family. To safely carry this load, and pay the interest and the principal, we should have had our primary industries rapidly expanding. But this was not the case. I do not want to indulge in any criticism of public policy, which you might think extravagant : I would rather remind you of some significant remarks made by Sir George Paish when he was here about three years ago, in which there is very stinging, though somewhat veiled, criticism of the policy that we had been following in Canada for a great many years.

> "It is evident that the railway machinery created to take care of the production of the country is sufficient to deal with at least twice, if not three times, the existing output ; and it is obvious that the burden of interest upon the immense amount of capital supplied will be a heavy one until the productive power of the country is greatly increased. I am convinced that every possible effort will be made by all concerned—the Canadian Government, the Provincial Governments, the municipalities, the great railway companies, bankers, traders, and others, as well as by British investors, to increase rapidly the agricultural and mineral output of the country, upon which the welfare of the Canadian people, both individually and collectively, absolutely depends ; and the effect of their concerted effort will be so great that the country will carry with safety a burden of interest which might otherwise overtax its strength. It is, however, of the greatest possible importance that the work of directly increasing the productive power of the country by placing a larger proportion of the population upon the land and in the mines should be carried out with the least possible delay."

I might say something very strong, very cutting, regarding the policy that has guided Canada during the last 25 years, but without indulging in any extravagant language I can at least make use of the terms which Sir Thomas Shaughnessy used when he said that our railway policy had been wild and stupid. I do not mean to say that those responsible for initiating and carrying out that policy were wild and stupid; but at all events the results of their cogitations were of that character. It has seemed to me for a great many years that the policy that we have been following in stimulating our secondary industries at the expense of our primary industries is very much like the policy of the farmer who should mortgage his farm and neglect all his crops in order to build a magnificent barn, and then find when he had done so that he was mortgaged up to the hilt, as we say, and had no crop to fill his barn. In my judgment, and in the judgment of a good many keen observers, we had been following a mistaken policy—stimulating our secondary industries, and indulging in all kinds of so-called constructive work, without seeing that there was a parallel and very necessary corresponding development of our primary industries.

Then the war came, and what was its effect ? One of the most immediate was the beginning of the heaping up of a tremendous debt, which is not by any means yet at an end. Interest and principal will have to be paid sometime, unless we repudiate it. In the second place, enlistment very very seriously reduced the available workers for the normal industries of this country. It has taken away, directly and indirectly, one-third of our man-power—a very serious thing, and something we ought to try to make good in every possible way. In 1915 we had fairly good crops, thanks to the weather and Providence, and not to the "P. and P" campaign. But 1916 has been one of the worst years that we have ever experienced, in spite of all we could do. The climate was very adverse in almost all parts of the country, and hindered the production of practically all kinds of crops ; I could give you details that would be rather startling if I had time. In addition, farmers generally have been short of help —far shorter of help than they were a little while ago, and they have been working with half the necessary help for 15 or 20 years. Now, if the situation was serious at the outbreak of the war, it is doubly and trebly serious at the present time from the standpoint of the relationship between agriculture and our national financial safety.

Gentlemen, if you will pardon the statement, there is a good deal of ignorance existing in our cities regarding rural conditions. I am reminded of a story I read a good many years ago of a little boy who read somewhere that if half a ton of steel was manufactured into watch springs it would be worth I don't know how many thousands of dollars. The boy thought that was a great thing, and by hook or crook he managed to get sufficient money to purchase half a ton of steel in the form of an ingot, and this was carted up to the door of his father's house. The sequel I leave you to imagine. Now, just remember that story when you come to criticize the farmers and the farmers' methods. There is much in the game that the outsider does not and cannot see.

Personal remarks are somewhat out of place, but if I am supposed to speak to you with some degree of authority I ought to give grounds for being able to do so, and therefore I must transgress the demands of good taste in this matter. Pardon me for so doing. I lived in the city of Toronto for the best part of four or five years, and therefore I know something of city life. I was born and brought up on the farm that I now work, and I have been farming—actually farming, doing the work myself—for about 14 years. I spent nearly two years at the Agricultural College in Guelph, in the Department of Chemistry. I have had several trips in various parts of the Province in connection with farmers' organizations. I spent one summer in the Canadian West, and the best part of a month amongst the French Canadians, actually going over their farms. I think, therefore, that if I have any powers of observation and reasoning, my experience should enable me to tell you of conditions as they actually exist, with some little degree of authority.

Now, I want to tell you that a very serious rural problem faces us. The rural districts are not mainly responsible for it ; I am not going to tell you to-day what or who is responsible—that is another story—but I want to tell you what the problem is. One of the aspects of this problem is the curtailment of production in practically every line, and this is going to become far worse in the immediate future. I have had to curtail in a great many respects, and I shall have to curtail further yet. I know from actual experience and observation that the pressure which is being brought to bear on our farmers at the present time is going to result in a further serious curtailment of production. A second aspect of perhaps greater importance is that there has been such depletion in our rural districts that the social life of the people there has suffered very much, and is very seriously menaced. I have no time to go into details, but I would refer you to a book written about three years ago by Rev. John McDougall, of Spencerville, in Eastern Ontario, entitled "Rural Life in Canada." There you will find the matter gone into with very considerable detail in its various aspects, as to how the rural depopulation which has been so marked in Canada has affected life in the rural districts.

I might mention some things just by way of suggestion. A great deal of land that was cultivated and producing field crops in Ontario 20 or 30 years ago is now turned into cattle ranges. Weeds are on the increase. A great deal of land is useless for lack of drainage. Timber lies rotting and wasting all over the country for lack of help to cut it up into fuel. Live stock is on the decrease, and bound to become more so. Now, nearly all of this results from the lack of labour, which it is practically impossible to get ; and, let me say here, that there are men who can get $3 or $4 a day almost anywhere in other industries who would not earn 50 cents a day in farming. We cannot pay the wages that other industries are paying, and have not been able to do so for years.

As examples I will tell you of three different farms in my own country which I know intimately. Thirty years ago one farm of 300 acres had three houses, three families, a lot of fine stock, was productive, and furnished homes for upwards of 15 people. It was the centre of social and child life and of much that was interesting and desirable. That was in my boyhood. I know the farm very well, because I spent many happy days there in my childhood. At the present time one of the houses has gone, and the others are in bad repair. The farm is in the hands of a ne'er-do-well tenant. It is producing practically nothing. It is very difficult to get the rent. Another farm with which I am very well acquainted had 25 years ago two houses —the owner's house and the house for a married man ; it had two large silos, a large herd of cows, and was the centre of flourishing industry. At the present time that farm is in the hands of a foreigner. Three years ago it was abandoned for cattle pasture, not a soul living on it. Another farm now occupied by a schoolmate of mine, thirty years ago had the grandfather of the present owner, two sons—one married and one single—a married man, a single man by the year, and extra help in the summer time—in all five or six men. At the present time that farm is getting on with the owner and one man, and it is producing about one-half or perhaps one-third of what it did 30 years ago. These are perhaps extreme cases : they may not be justly representative. I have chosen them, however, because they are extreme. Nevertheless, they show the drift. They show how things are going, show what we are up against. Something has got to be done.

Now, what is the reason for this ? The reason is not that farmers are unduly hard upon their children ; it is not because the cities possess supreme attractions for the young ; it is not because of this and that and the other of a hundred influences which we admit may exist : these are not the reason why agriculture is suffering, though they are parts of the reason. The whole reason can be included in the general statement that labour and capital do not get as great rewards in agriculture as in other occupations. The rewards of which I speak are not all of a material or financial agriculture as in other occupations. The rewards of character. They may be quite otherwise ; but lumping them altogether they are roughly estimated by men, and it is idle for us to dispute these estimates. We may say they have false tastes, we may say this, that and the other thing ; we may assign a hundred different reasons for the facts that exist ; but we cannot dispute the general consensus of opinion regarding the satisfactions or the rewards of one industry as against the other ; the drift of labour and capital indicates absolutely the relative rewards of one kind and another which the individual gets in the various industries, and if labour and capital have been drifting away from agriculture for 30 or 40 years, the satisfactions are not to be got.

As far as the financial rewards of agriculture are concerned, I must refer you to a great many agricultural surveys that have been made in the United States under the various agricultural departments of the State colleges. Unfortunately we have not done any of this work in Canada. In this respect we are very backward and out of date, because we have no accurate knowledge from the statistical point of view of the economic condition of farmers as compared with those engaged in other industries. Last spring I did some figuring based on the census returns, with a view to compare the returns from manufacturing and farming. You can find the details of the argument, with the figures and authorities, in the "Grain Growers' Guide of October 11th, 1916. I want now to give you merely the balance sheet as I figured it out for the average of the five years, 1910-1914 :

MANUFACTURING AND FARMING PROFITS.

A BALANCE SHEET SHOWING WHY PEOPLE LEAVE THE FARMS

MANUFACTURING, 1910-1914.

Capital investment		$1,500,000,000
Value of products (annual)		1,400,000,000
Cost of labour, etc	$1,000,000,000	
5 per cent. on investment	75,000,000	
1 per cent. municipal tax	15,000,000	
5 per cent depreciation	50,000,000	
Total costs		1,140,000,000
Surplus profit		$ 260,000,000

FARMING, 1910-1914.

Capital investment		$5,000,000,000
Value of products (annual)		1,000,000,000
Cost of labour	$760,000,000	
5 per cent. on investment	250,000,000	
1 per cent. municipal tax	50,000,000	
5 per cent. depreciation	50,000,000	
Total costs		1,110,000,000
Deficit		$ 110,000,000

Now, how is the deficit made up ? Simply by the farmer and his family taking less wages than are paid in the other industries—and I have only allowed them the average wages which those in the manufacturing industries get. The results were rather startling to me, as showing the handicap under which agriculture has been labouring financially. In addition to that, there are the other advantages of city life which as yet farm life does not possess. All considered, I doubt whether at the present time the more elusive and subtle advantages of life in the country are sufficient to out-weigh the very serious economic disadvantages under which agriculture is labouring. I am not permitted to tell you what causes this discrimination, because my time is up ; I could tell you, because it is very clear in my own mind, but, as I said before, that is another story into which I cannot go now. I am however, satisfied that the economic handicap under which agriculture has been labouring for the last 30 years is chiefly responsible for its condition.

Now, to put the whole matter in a few words we may say that the present condition of agriculture is a menace to our whole national safety and our whole national character. Our future destiny and national character depend on the quality of life that we can maintain in our rural districts. That life has not been improving. Conditions have not been satisfactory. They are not satisfactory now, and are getting worse. The prime cause is that, through one means and another, agriculture has not been getting its just reward. Now, the rest is another story, which I must tell another time. I thank you, gentlemen, for your patient hearing.

Mr. Thos. Findlay moved the vote of thanks, and Mr. J. Lockie Wilson, of the Department of Agriculture, seconded.

IMPORTANCE OF MINING INDUSTRY TO CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY ARTHUR A. COLE, M.A., B.Sc.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
December 7, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Canada is a country of large railway developments, when we consider it on a per capita basis. Most Canadians, if asked why we have so much railway development, will answer that it was primarily with the object of opening up our vast agricultural areas, and likely they would be right.

Now I do not wish for a moment to minimize the importance of the agricultural industry. It is our most important basic industry, but we should try to see things in their true perspective. Now that we have the railways, who supplies the business to them ?

Let us take, for example, our own little railway, the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway—I speak of it as "our railway," as it is the people's railway, and "we are the people." The T. & N. O. Railway was projected as a colonization railroad to open up the large agricultural areas to the north of Lake Temiskaming, known as the "clay belt" of Northern Ontario. Now let us see who provides the freight for this railway.

During the last five years the mining industry has been accountable for 47 per cent. of the total freight revenue, while agriculture gave nearly 13 per cent. or a little over quarter that of the mining industry. Thus the railway was built for the farmer, but the miner supplies the freight. If the railway was forced to depend solely on the farmer for its freight revenue, it is likely that we would have to be content with one or two mixed trains each way weekly instead of as at present, from two to three up-to-date passenger trains daily.

Perhaps you may think this an exceptional case, so let us consider figures covering the whole of Canada. In the report for the fiscal year 1913, the Department of Railways and Canals publishes figures from which we may gather the following :—For the year 1913 the products of agriculture handled by the Canadian railways formed 16 per cent. of the total, and during the same period the products of mines was 38 per cent. of the total, or more than twice as much, and these percentages were practically the same for the six years previously. The manufacturer need not think that he makes a better showing than that, for manufactures come 1 per cent. less than that of agriculture (14.8 per cent.).

If you are still unconvinced of the importance of the mining industry let us extend our investigation a little farther afield. If we examine figures prepared by the Interstate Commerce Commission covering freight traffic over the railways of the United States, we find that for two years which were considered normal, products of agriculture were 9 per cent. of the aggregate, while the products of mines formed 53 per cent. of the total, or nearly six times as much. These are facts that we cannot get away from, and must show us that from a railway standpoint at least the mineral industry is of immense importance.

THE MINERAL INDUSTRY IN WAR TIME

Now let us consider for a few minutes the part the mineral industry may play in war times. Speaking of the war, Mr. Asquith says :—"*It is a struggle of material and economic resources, and these will prove in the long run to be the deciding factors.*"

Germany for years past has paid particular attention to her mining and metallurgical industries, and this has proved a great source of strength to her.

If you will examine a map of Belgium you will find that the general line of advance of the German Army through Belgium was along the valley of the Meuse. This we find is the line of the principal coal deposits of Belgium which are located in Liege, Huy, Mons and Charleroi and the newly-discovered deposits to the north of Liege, known as the Campine field. The coal output of Belgium the year before the war was 22½ per cent. million tons.

The principal French coal field, and that one now in the possession of the Germans, is the field of Valenciennes, which is the continuation of the main Belgian field, the whole being known as the Hainault Basin. The coal output of France for the year 1913 was 40 million tons, the bulk of which was probably supplied by the Valenciennes field.

Before 1870 French territory extended east to the Rhine. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war Bismarck laid it down as axiomatic that the valley of the Rhine must be secured to Germany by the possession of both banks, and in order to do this the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were taken from the French. In Alsace the natural boundary between two countries was the Vosges Mountains, but when it came to Lorraine there was no such natural boundary. There were, however, valuable iron ore areas, so the boundary was arranged to throw all of the then known iron deposits into German territory. As soon as France began to recover from the results of the war her engineers started boring on the French side of the line. A simple explanation of the structural geology of this area is that the different formations are slightly tilted from the horizontal, and dip gently towards the valley of Paris. Thus, in travelling from Lorraine towards Paris, you cross the different geological formations at right angles in gradually ascending scale. The iron-bearing formation outcrops in the German acquired Province of Lorraine, but the deposits continue in gradually increasing depth coming west in French territory. The French engineers soon located the continuation of these iron deposits by means of bore holes, and at once began development, and in the face of considerable difficulties by the year 1914 they had developed a larger iron industry than was on the German side of the line, and had greater ore reserves. The French deposits occur in what is known as the Briey Valley, and these form one of the most important iron ore areas in Europe. The production of this area in 1913 was about 30 million tons. This area has been in the possession of the Germans since the beginning of the war, and it has been estimated that last year it supplied 60 per cent. of the total iron ore production.

The possession by the Germans of this iron field, along with the possession of the Valenciennes coal field, deprived the French at one swoop of the greater part of their iron and coal production. This, of course, was a great blow to the French and a corresponding source of strength to the Germans.

Perhaps the most common question that we have heard in connection with the conduct of the war on the western front is, "Why did the Germans attack Verdun?" And as every non-combatant seems to have an answer ready, and but few of them are at all satisfactory, an explanation that was suggested by a recent statement of Ferand Engerand, a member of the French Chamber, may not be here amiss. The Briey Valley containing the French iron ore deposits lies between Verdun and Metz. Perhaps some of you will remember that early this year a report appeared in the papers stating that the civil population of Metz had been warned to be ready to vacate the city. It would look as if the French forces were threatening the German lines near Metz sufficiently, and that the Germans were preparing Metz for a possible siege. If the Germans had been compelled to retire back of Metz the consolidation of their lines would throw all the iron deposits of this area into the hands of the French. This, of course, was one of the last things they wished to do. On the other hand, if a breach could be made in the French lines at Verdun, which was one of the strongest points in the line, it would mean that the French would have to consolidate their lines at a considerable distance from Verdun, and this would not only relieve Metz, but would remove the iron deposits from the immediate danger zone. Surely this provides one good reason for the attack on Verdun.

Germany's dependence on the Briey iron field is shown by the following communication which, on the 20th of May, 1915, was sent to Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg by Germany's six great industrial and agricultural associations, which ran as follows :—

"The manufacture of shells demands iron in a quantity so great that no one could have formed an idea that so much could be used, had not our need of it been demonstrated. If we had not been able to double the production of rough iron and steel since the month of August, 1914, it would have been impossible to continue the war.

"We might count the war as very nearly lost should our production of minette (the Lorraine material) be disturbed."

This quotation shows how important French iron is to the Germans. The Belgian coal mines and the iron mines of Briey are the two elements that the Germans most require for their war ; loss of these elements, Deputy Engerand declares, would mean the annihilation of German military power. Let us hope and pray for the early accomplishment of this most desirable end. We can now see that there is more than a mere sentimental feeling on the part of Frenchmen in wishing to bring Alsace and Lorraine back under French rule. I just use these examples to show how important the mineral industry may become in war times.

THE MINERAL INDUSTRY OF CANADA

Returning to Canada, let us for a few moments take an inventory of our mineral industry.

Our total mineral production now amounts to 175 million dollars annually, of which our own province produces nearly one-half. In a list of our mineral resources you will find that there are very few of the important ones missing, and in some of those we have we lead the world. Let us consider a few special cases.

Our coal resources are among the greatest in the world.

Our asbestos deposits in the Eastern Townships of the Province of Quebec supply most of the asbestos of commerce.

The greatest nickel deposits in the world are located at Sudbury. Ontario has the largest body of high-grade talc on the continent at Madoc ; the largest body of high-grade feldspar on the continent in the Richardson Mine near Verona ; the greatest mica mine on the continent at Sydenham, and the greatest graphite mine at Calabogie, and quite recently a molybdenite property has been discovered within twenty-five miles of Ottawa that bids fair to outstrip all rivals.

We also have one of the richest silver camps in the world at Cobalt, and the most promising of the younger gold camps on the continent at Porcupine.

Our smelters at Deloro and Thorold also produce more refined cobalt than all the other refineries in the world put together.

These are just a few of the lines in which we lead, but the remainder of our production is by no means insignificant.

With such a magnificent heritage we would be very delinquent in our duty if we did not give the mineral industry the careful attention that it deserves.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRY

In the past there has been too little co-operation between the miner and the manufacturer. We did not notice our lack of organization until the war broke out, and then our deficiencies were made apparent. In March last, at the request of Sir George E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, a special committee of the Canadian Mining Institute was appointed to study conditions in respect of the mineral and metal industries of the Dominion with a view to determining :

(1) To what extent Canada can supply the requirements of the Empire, and thus help to make it self-supporting and independent of outside sources for those supplies of materials essential to its needs, both in times of peace and war ; and

(2) To indicate the possibilities as regards the utilization of the natural resources of the Dominion to greater national advantage than heretofore, in the upbuilding of home manufacturing industries.

In other words there is apparently sound reason to believe that we are now exporting a great quantity of raw material which could be much more profitable, so far as the national interests are concerned, if made the basis of manufacturing industries at home ; and also importing supplies, a considerable proportion of which we could quite readily and most advantageously produce ourselves. In some cases it will be necessary merely to indicate the opportunities that exist for the establishment of new industries to effect the desired end; but in other instances Government encouragement will be required.

Now how may the public help us in this work ? I appeal to you, gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada, as leaders of thought in this enlightened city of Toronto, to give this subject the intelligent consideration that it deserves. No one can plead that it does not concern him. Mining is one of our basic industries, and it enters more or less into the lives of every one of us. The industry is sure to be benefited if we have a more intelligent understanding of it by the public. You do not need to be a stockholder in a mine to be financially interested in its development. Take, for instance, the little camp of Cobalt. Of course a camp, to be successful, must make profits, and Cobalt does and the result is the dividends that are paid. If you are a shareholder, that is what you are most interested in. But let us look at Cobalt from another angle, that of a non-shareholder. It costs seven million dollars annually to run the Cobalt mines, and after careful enquiry I am convinced that most of that seven millions eventually finds its way down to Toronto. If you are a merchant or a manufacturer in the city, does not the matter of an extra five or six millions annually coming into the city interest you ? and remember that Cobalt is only one of a number of flourishing mining camps up north. But perhaps you are not interested in monetary profit. Perhaps you are like one of your leading daily newspapers. Last week I went into this newspaper office, and after holding out my money for ten minutes wanting to pay for a yearly subscription in advance, I had to come away with my money. A clerk did look up at me when I asked if they were too busy to take some money, but I got no other reply. Now, although I used to think that that paper had a strong political bias, I now consider it the most independent paper in Canada.

Speaking seriously, however, I ask you to familiarize yourselves with the work of the mining industry, and I am sure that you will find the study beneficial, for in the future there is certain to be legislation introduced regarding the mineral industry, that will receive more intelligent treatment if we have a well-informed public to back it up.

It is doubtless lack of information that makes the public so often judge the mining industry from the losses made through gambling in mining stocks. When a man gambles in wheat and loses, he does not blame the agricultural industry He usually keeps quiet about his losses, but privately he must confess to himself that his losses are due to his own ignorance or inability to properly size up the wheat situation. He should treat the mining industry in the same way.

If a man is heard blaming the mining industry for his losses, he is simply proclaiming to the world that he is a gambler in mining stocks, and on enquiry it will usually be found that although he may be a shrewd, careful and successful business man in his own line, when it comes to mining he throws shrewdness and common sense to the winds and ignores usual business methods. Under the circumstances, the dice are loaded against him and he has not an ordinary gambler's chance.

If a man were offered a bargain in real estate, he would not think of paying over his money before he had made a personal investigation of the property, or had got an expert opinion on it, or both ; yet, when buying a mining property, that same man often puts up his hard-earned savings without anything more than a seller's report.

If you wish to invest in the mining industry, and not simply to gamble, use ordinary business principles and common sense, and I can assure you that I know of no other industry on earth that gives larger returns for the capital invested.

THE FUTURE

The forecasts for the future may be considered superfluous, but I think in this case that they may help us in a campaign of better preparedness for the future. Again let us turn to our northland for inspiration. Anyone who looked over the unbroken forest of Northern Ontario a dozen years ago and predicted that this district would soon be producing twenty millions in gold and silver annually would have been put down as a fantastic dreamer. But that is a fact to-day, and the output is continually increasing.

And yet only a small portion of the country has been prospected. Running north-east and north-west from Cobalt and extending to the Arctic Ocean is the great Canadian pre-Cambrian shield, the basement formation of the continent. It contains thousands of square miles and offers to prospectors better chances of locating valuable mineral deposits than can be found in any other country in the world.

Turning from such a past record and looking forward into the future, it requires no very vivid imagination to see other Cobalts and other Porcupines converting the wilderness into thriving hives of industry.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

THE NEW ORGANIZATION FOR INDUSTRIAL AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR A. B. MACALLUM, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
December 14, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am not an orator ; and the position I occupy is one which calls for self-restraint, circumspection and diplomacy as well as conference, and I was just feeling about to see whether I have those qualifications. Hitherto I have been a doer of things and not a speaker. The work to which I have been recently called has been urged upon me and it has made a critical change in my life. I had gone into the University of Toronto before reaching the middle of my 20's, and for 32 years I have been working and crusading in the University for an ideal, which still remains with me as bright as it was in those early years. I have thought over the proposed change for a long time, and passed a couple of miserable days before I decided. I have in my mind an illustration well worth knowing, in the case of my friend George Francis Fitzgerald, the noted physicist of the University of Dublin, one of the brainiest men I have ever known, who, in the last interview I had with him, expressed his idea to work the rest of his life at research—he was then about 50—and he intended to devote himself to a study of the constituent properties of cosmic ether—a problem which has defied investigation very largely as yet, though I am glad to say I have persuaded my colleague, Prof. McClennan, to do something along that line; believing that discoveries in it would be fraught with the utmost consequence.

Prof. Fitzgerald, a few months after that, was offered the position as Commissioner of Irish Education, a post involving a great deal of executive work, and he had accepted it ; and after his death eight or nine months later—involving a loss irreparable to science—one of his letters to Sir Oliver Lodge was published, in which Fitzgerald told that although he had hoped to devote the rest of his life, which he reckoned at 25 years, to the research problem named, yet, when this offer came he considered it and accepted it, because, he said, "The constitution and properties of cosmic ether can wait, but Irish Education is urgent and insistent, and I must accept." I am in that position to-day, I have to make a choice, and I have made the choice because I think I can do in this new position more for our country than I could by remaining in my late post. I know my own deficiencies, and I am on guard against them. I known my own enthusiasm, and I hope that it will carry me through to the end.

Now, what is the need to-day of the new movement ? This war is going to leave the world in a new position ; things will never be the same as they were ; after all the disaster in this holocaust of human life we will have to re-orientate ourselves commercially, industrially and psychologically ; and we can only meet the new situation by being prepared for it. The Anglo-Saxon peoples of this world have been going on on the assumption that the old things and the old ways are still good ; but the war has demonstrated that they cannot be and we must make a change. And what is that change that we must make in order to get efficiency in national life ? We must employ all the scientific lore that is available to-day to human kind ; apply it to human needs,—the shop, the farm, the factory and so on. That is the lesson this war is teaching us. It is a very severe lesson at a frightful cost, but it must be learned, and therefore we have to face the situation in a few years from now. Who knows—who can imagine—what is going to be the reflex effect of this war on our conditions here eventually ? Nobody knows, but everybody can to a certain extent limn it, though it is going to be greater than anybody amongst us can imagine ; still, everybody can to a certain extent indicate what it is to be, in part.

Well, how are we going to face that situation ? Are we going to make ourselves tributary to Germany, industrially and commercially ? After this war German labour and German science will be put to repairing the mistake that she and her allies have made. They will be taxed to the utmost. Labour will be cheap. Science will be applied as it never was applied before. How are we going to meet it ? Is Germany going to get the costs of her war out of us ? She will unless we determine that we shall be up-to-date in our methods—thoroughly up-to-date. She has talked about indemnities from the conquered nations—as she supposed the Allies to be—at the end of this war. If she herself comes out of it a victim, a conquered nation, she may get her indemnity, as I say, in that way.

Now, we must be prepared for it ourselves ; and how shall we do it ? This new movement on the part of Sir George Foster is one which I cannot commend too highly. It is one of the most enlightened things that a Government has done for a long time. It is a new regime, when a Government calls in scientific men to advise it, I remember the time 25 years ago when the Royal Society of Great Britain asked the Government to be consulted on every question; it has offered itself for years, but the Government ignored these claims. To-day that is not the case, for the Royal Society and all the scientific men of Great Britain are back of the Government and trying to find a solution for those problems that are now confronting the nation and that will confront it urgently after the war. There will be no more ignoring of science in Great Britain. Now, this Government of ours, through Sir George Foster, appreciates this point of view, and already he has taken the step which has crystallized in the appointment of this Advisory Council.

Let me tell you that we shall have to go very far; and I am frank about it because I want the assistance of everybody who has any insight or any foresight at all. Had Great Britain 30 or 35 years ago done what she is doing to-day I believe there would have been no war. I have known Germany for 30 years—I was there 30 years ago; I knew then, and I know the limitations of its wealth. Germany, relatively to England, was a poor country. She had forged ahead in such a way that she was able to undertake this war; and how did she do it? One statistician published some 18 months ago the statement—I do not know where he got his facts—that Germany since 1884 has spent £460,000 a year in research along scientific lines and in aid of industries. How much has Great Britain spent? She gave £4,000 to the Royal Society for pure research up till two or three years ago; she established the National Physical Laboratory about 16 years ago and spent £20,000; but apart from those grants nothing was done. Had she spent a million pounds a year her industries would have been in a position to prevent Germany from catching up and competing with her and taking away her industries from her. What would that mean? For the last 35 years, £35,000,000. Statesmen who were engaged in trying to make the expenditures and the income meet would think that an enormous sum; a million pounds will provide a lot of torpedo boats and we may as well spend them on that, or we may as well spend them, we will say, on old-age pensions. But if a million a year had been spent, the 35 millions with interest would be placed against the £5,000,000,000 that this war is going to cost. For a generation—aye, for 200 years—Great Britain will have to carry that debt of £5,000,000,000. Was it not worth while to have prevented that?

Now, on this continent we shall have to compete with the nation to the south of us, for they have already taken up this line on which I am addressing you to-day. They are spending half a million on research. They have established three national laboratories. One is amazed on going to Washington and seeing what they have done there. Are we on this continent to lag behind that Government in providing for research ? I do not mean pure research, research in pure science ; I mean research all along, because you cannot separate the two ; pure science and applied science and industrial research dove-tailed so closely into one another that you cannot separate them. I remember when the wireless powers were first discovered or practically announced nearly 30 years ago, and I said then, "This is going to be used ; how, I do not know." I remember that a colleague to whom I spoke said, "Oh, no, it is pure science." What is it to-day ? It girdles the globe ; it abbreviates distance ; and it is now in the service of mankind ; it affects a revolution in the relations, in the connections of all the races on the globe; it is the servant of commerce and industry and everything else. You cannot say what is going to come out of an invention. Somebody asked Faraday what was going to come out of his studies of electricity. He replied, "What is the use of a baby ?" Now, it is just the same in pure science ; you never know where it is going to round up its results. Similarly here.

We must develop, and all of us must crusade for research. I have been crusading in this country ; I have been crusading in the University, and now I am going out into the larger field to crusade, and I want everybody ; I am going to be a sort of Peter the Hermit to get you all to join me in the crusade.

Now, what has Germany done that we can copy? There are a lot of things. The German Government has been alive to this matter for 30 years. She has had research everywhere, even in her High Schools, which they call "Gymnasia." The appointments to the position of teachers even in those Gymnasia are given on the basis of research, and whenever a teacher receives an appointment to a post it is incumbent on him to read a dissertation involving scientific research, and it is published as such ; it is called an inaugural dissertation, and this is published so that the men in the Gymnasia have it. Their Gymnasia have libraries that will rival our University libraries, and there are over 460 of them ; every new scientific journal that is started is at once put by the Government on the tables of those libraries ; that is the way the whole of Germany is marshalled in a serried rank for science. Then the Minister of Education in each one of the 22 or 23 states of Germany sees to it that every scientific establishment under his control shall be officered and supported to the utmost. Should we not have something like that here ? Should we not aim at that ?

I am not going to delve into that very far, but I want to tell you what this new Advisory Council is likely to do. I am only the speaker, as it were, representing it, but I can tell you that we are going to foster research in every way—foster it so as to assist the manufacturers, the industries generally, and the development of all our resources to the utmost. We are going to develop researchers if possible. Do you know that in this country to-day there are not enough ? There have been no inducements for the development of those, for the training of those hitherto. The Government and the people generally have been exercising a step-mother's care for that sort of thing ; it is none of their affair—that has been the attitude. It cannot be so any longer ; we must develop researchers in this country ; and we have the material here ; the young men in this country are just as bright as those of any other country ; they are keener if you give them the chance—and they must have the chance. One of the first steps that this Council has taken is to institute 20 research studentships, to be followed by as many research fellowships. We are to select out, all over the country, men of the type that are likely to develop research, and research along industrial lines. We are going to enlist the co-operation of every laboratory in the country. We think research can be carried out, and whereever a man can be found who is willing to enter on that career he is going to be supported. We are going to displace no organization that is to-day doing good work ; they are going to go on as before, but we will assist them ; we will bring all the forces possible to assist them—public opinion, and the Government of the day—wherever it is possible.

And now, gentlemen, I ask for your co-operation, for your sympathy, for this new organization, to render Canada efficient along all the lines, to foster research here, to aid industries in every possible way. You can give an enormous service by your good will, by your word, by your aid wherever it can be offered. That is what I request of you to-day.

Sir Adam Beck moved a vote of thanks and Dr. A. H. McKay, Principal of the Technical Schools of Toronto, seconded.

THE HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

AN ADDRESS BY VEN. ARCHDEACON CODY D.D., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, December 21, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject on which I am to speak is always timely. Never was it more timely than to-day. The subject is, "The History and Present Significance of our National Anthem." Someone has said, "Let me make the songs of a nation, and I care not who make their laws." That epigrammatic statement has a heart of truth. Among the potent factors in developing and enriching our patriotism is the constant singing of our national anthem. The smouldering fires of patriotism have in these latter days burst forth into a blazing flame. Everywhere men are arising to strive and to sacrifice that the goodly heritage of our Empire shall not pass away. We nourish and stimulate our patriotism by the solemn singing together of this hymn of our race.

The use of particular words and music formally to express the patriotic creed of a country is a comparatively modern ceremonial. Our own British National Anthem is probably the oldest of all the national anthems in current use to-day. The national anthem of the French, the Marseillaise, dates from 1792. It sets the blood of the whole nation tingling. When sung by armies with eyes now weeping and then all ablaze, it has hurled upon their foes the thousands of France defying danger, death and despotism. The national anthem of Austria was inspired by our own national anthem, and dates from the year 1797. The national anthem of Belgium dates from the struggles for independence in 1830. The stately national anthem of Russia, a prayer for the Czar and for prosperity to his people, dates from 1833. The famous German patriotic song. "Die Wacht Am Rhein" was the composition of an obscure Swabian merchant in 1840, and it was only after the unification of Germany in 1871 that this local song became the national anthem of the new German Empire. Before that time the national anthem of Prussia, "Heil dir, im Sieger-Krantz—" was sung to the tune of our own British National Anthem. All the national anthems of Europe are thus of comparatively modern origin.

What about the source of our own National Anthem ? One would naturally think that the story of this anthem, its words and its music, would be written large on the page of English history ; and yet the origin of both the words and the music is hidden in obscurity, and is a matter of musical and literary controversy to the present day. The Anthem was not made ; it grew like a folk song. What I shall seek to lay before you are only the most probable conclusions, and the outstanding features of the history.

The words are rooted far back in English history. The phrase, "God Save the King," is found in our English Bible. This translation does not accurately represent the original Hebrew, which meant only "Let the King Live." In the Vulgate the translation is "Vivat Rex" ; in the French version "Vive Le Roi." Coverdale's Bible of 1535 has "God save the new Kynge." The expression, "God Save the King" appears to occur first in the Geneva Bible of 1560. But before that time there was a foreshadowing of a national watch-word. On August 10, 1545, the fleet under Lord Lisle in the reign of King Henry VIII. had as its watch-word "God Save King Henrye" ; and the response was "And long to reign over us." Here is a beginning of some formal expression of national loyalty. A song sung at the Conduit in Cornhill in the Coronation procession of Edward VI.; the Tudor prayers for the Sovereign ;

and the form of prayer for the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, supply hints of the coming anthem.

Probably the first occasion upon which the basis of the present tune was used was in the days of King James the First. The King, Lords and Commons had been delivered from the perils of the Gun-Powder Plot. The Merchant-Tailors Company of London on July 16, 1607, gave a banquet for The King, and at it was sung a hymn of thanksgiving, the words of which no one to-day exactly knows. Presumably some of the sentiments were the same as those in the first part of our National Anthem. The music was supplied by Dr. John Bull. May I remind you, in passing that John Bull is not a mythical character ? He was a cadet of an old Somersetshire family born in 1563, died at Antwerp in 1628, and he was Court Musician to Queen Elizabeth and her successor King James the First. Dr. John Bull conducted this hymn of thanksgiving to a tune either of his own composition or of his own adaptation ; and the choristers of the Chapel Royal sang it, placed in a boat that was hung from the roof above the high table on this festive occasion. Some years afterwards an "ayre," or organ voluntary without words, was discovered in a manuscript book of Dr. John Bull's composition, and it very closely resembles the music of our National Anthem with its rhythm and melody. It has therefore been concluded that very probably the nucleus of the music (so far as we can trace it in England) was composed or adapted by Dr. John Bull for this Banquet in 1607 in the Merchant Tailors' Hall. An old folk-song may lie behind it.

On the occasion when the words of our National Anthem first come before us in something like their present form we have an illustration of the strange irony of history. In 1688 when William of Orange was seeking to land on the south coast of England, and when Capt. John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, was exhorting the King's Guards to desert him there was being sung in the Chapel Royal—the private Chapel of the Roman Catholic King

James II.—under the direction of Father Petre, a Latin hymn of two verses of our National Anthem to-day. May I read you the literal translation of those Latin words :—

Oh God, most excellent,
Make now our Sovereign safe,
May happy victory and glory accompany him.
Do Thou now make our Lord safe.
May the Lord arise,
May He scatter the Rebels and repress them.
Do Thou confound their devices,
Dispel their fraudulent schemes ;
On Thee may our hope be fixed,
Oh, save us, Lord.

We can well imagine with what fervour James and his devout satellites joined in this musical petition !

Now, it is, I repeat, one of the ironies of history that upon the first occasion of which we have knowledge, this fervent hymn-prayer imploring Divine help for the reigning monarch was not answered in the terms of its petition ; and before the year had sped, William III. sat on the throne of James II. Salvation was not vouchsafed the Stuart dynasty. It has been conjectured that these Latin verses were based on some hymn composed at the restoration of Charles II. in 1660. To what music was it sung ? It would seem that Dr. Anthony Young, the organist of All Hallows Church, Barking, London, had come upon Dr. John Bull's "Ayre" and made further improvements upon it and further adaptations of it and that the hymn was sung to his music.

The words of this anthem seem now to have passed out of current use. But it apparently lingered on among the Jacobites. On a drinking cup in the old Scotch castle of Fingask the following words were incribed—I quote part of them :—

God save the King, I pray.
God bless the King, I pray,
  God save the King.
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Soon to reign over us,
  God save the King.

A Jacobite song! What is the force of "*send*"? "Send the rightful Stuart King over the water, soon to reign over us, instead of the usurper." Now, this version is probably only an adaptation of the original to special circumstances. As a Jacobite adaptation it seems to have been current before the close of the 17th Century and in the earlier part of the 18th.

The next occasion on which our growing National Anthem appears is in 1740. Henry Carey—(the man who wrote "Sally in our Alley") seems to have become acquainted with this old Latin Hymn of James II.'s time. He translated it or used a translation of it into English showing traces, however, of the Jacobite adaptation, and he sang it at the banquet given by the Mercer's Company to King George II., in celebration of the taking of Porto Bello. The first line ran "God Save our Lord the King." He never claimed that it was his own composition; he never claimed that he had written the music; those claims were made long after Henry Carey was dead and gone. And yet Charles Reade always maintained that Henry Carey had written both the words and the music, and said it was a crying shame that Henry Carey's countrymen had left the composer of their National Anthem to die in poverty by his own hand. When Henry Carey died, this anthem "God Save the King" had not become generally known.

Another copy of this old Latin anthem must have come into the hands of John Travers, the organist of the Chapel Royal for in November, 1743, he concluded a concert, at which he presided, with a Latin chorus consisting of these two verses as they had been sung for James II., and on the programme he gave his own English prose translation of the Latin words. The name of the Sovereign is not mentioned in the Latin hymn, nor in the version on the "Pretender" wine glass. "God save the King, I pray," nor in the version which was printed in the first edition of "Thesaurus Musicus," 1743, and begins "God save our Lord the King." This would seem to be an earlier version of the first line than that commonly sung to-day. But in days of Jacobite activity, it was not desirable to allow people to go about singing anthems to Kings without a name. There must be some sort of definition, and this we presently find.

On September 28th, 1745, twelve days after the Pretender was proclaimed King in Edinburgh, "God Save the King," with specific reference to King George, was sung at Drury Lane Theatre with the harmonies and accompaniment of Dr. Arne, the musical director. This performance was received with "tumultuous applause, and the example was followed at Covent Garden Theatre, where Dr. Barney supplied the harmonies. Thus, to keep up the irony of the situation, music originally sung by zealous Protestants to celebrate the frustration of Gunpowder Plot was afterwards sung in the chapel of the Roman Catholic King, James II., wedded to words of prayer against the designs of William of Orange ; and finally the self-same musical prayer used without avail on behalf of James II. was revived to serve as the Battle hymn of the Hanoverians who sat on his throne. After the song had largely disappeared it was revived, when the Pretender attempted by the aid of his faithful fellow-countrymen to regain the crown his ancestor had lost. It was not until after the suppression of the Rebellion of 1745, that Scottish insurrection supported by France, that their song became associated with national and patriotic feeling in England.

In the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for October, 1745, the words and music were reprinted as "A Song for Two Voices—as sung at both Play houses." The first line runs : "God save Great George, our King." This is the first known version which contains the third stanza, beginning

"Thy choicest gifts in store,
On George be placed to pour,"

Another milestone in its progress into general favour was passed when Dr. Attwood wove the melody into the special anthem which he composed for the coronation of George IV. in 1821.

The word "gracious" which is in use to-day apparently crept in because "William" (King William IV.) would not scan. Curious but vain were the efforts made to fit it in. The first line as we know it now seems not to have appeared before June, 1830. Seven years later, on the accession of Queen Victoria, the peculiar appropriateness of the epithet "gracious" to the young sovereign doubtless fixed the usage. Indeed it may be said that it is from Queen Victoria's coronation that the anthem with the feminine name became truly national. From that day to the present it has been sung by great choirs to the accompaniment of grand organs, full orchestras and massed bands, and by the multitudinous throats of the British people.

This, in outline, is, as far as may be determined, the history of our National Anthem. Its history wonderfully illustrates the spirit of caution and compromise that marks the English race. Instead of striking out on some new line they take something that lies to their hand, and adopt it, and adapt it to the changed circumstances. At one time it is sung in the interest of King James I. against the Gunpowder plotters; again it is sung in the interest of James II. against William of Orange; again it is sung as the battle song of the Hanoverians against Jacobite plotters and pretenders; and now at last, without remembrance of the details of its history, it is the voice of the deepest patriotic sentiment of our world-wide commonwealth.

There is another interesting point to which I would draw your attention when you read the words of the Anthem. The first verse originated in days when the doctrine of the divine right of kings was stoutly held. It is a prayer for the King couched in the strongest and most fervid forms. To-day we interpret it in a more constitutional and democratic sense, and we regard the King as the embodiment of the unity and justice of our whole empire. The third verse had its origin in the days of the constitutional and limited monarchy of the Hanoverians. In it you do not pray for the King in the same absolute way but you pray that God will endow him with choice gifts in order that he may exercise his great powers aright ; and then there follows truly constitutional sentiment.

May He defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice,
God save the King.

Thus again you have this characteristic of the English race—its caution and compromise—the variety in unity—the linking together of things that, when pushed to logical conclusions, might seem mutually exclusive, Absolutism and constitutionalism are combined.

Some words and expressions in the Anthem require a slight explanation. The word "send" in "send Him victorious" is a relic of the Jacobite adaptation of the original anthem. It has little significance as it stands ; but it had a significance against the historic background of "the King over the water." "God Save *the* King"—is often mis-sung "*our* King"; but "the King" is the proper text.

Some have thought that the second verse is an English "Hymn of Hate," and thoroughly unchristian in its sentiment. That interpretation, I believe is based upon a misunderstanding of the meaning of the words of the hymn.

"O Lord, our Lord, arise,
Scatter his enemies."

This is an adaptation, as you know, of the first verse of the 68th Psalm. It is in essence a prayer to the God of Battles that He will give us the victory. If our cause is right, if we believe we are seeking to establish truth and justice in the world, may we not pray to God to bless the cause by giving us the victory ? "Confound their politics"—There are some people even at this day who think that "confound" in the National Anthem is a mild and rather polite swear-word. "Confound" means to throw into confusion or to bring to naught. "Politics" is an archaic form of "Policies." Who among the Allies has any hesitation in asking God to bring to naught the tortuous policies, the nefarious stratagems of our great antagonist? "Frustrate their knavish tricks!"—the only fault to be found to-day with these words is that they are too mild to meet the present situation. The Latin original strictly means "their evil schemes." When I think of the enemy's reckless disregard of the law of international good faith upon which civilization can be built up; when I think of the atrocities they have perpetrated, that are paralleled only by the atrocities of their "natural ally" (it is Bernhardi's term)—the Turk; when I think of the women and children laid as sacrifices on the reeking altars of human passion; when I think of the stealthy death that from the sky above and from the sea below comes upon non-combatants, on innocent women and children; when I think of poisoned wells; when I think of enslaved populations; when I think of the callous and calculated disregard of all the laws that the humaner peoples of the world have sought to enforce in order to mitigate the horrors of war; and when I remember that these outrages have been committed by an enemy without shame, without any present sense of wrong-doing, without any apology, but in pursuance of a deliberate policy of "frightfulness," I can without hesitation sing with heart and voice "Frustrate their Knavish tricks." And for "knavish" you may substitute "*Fiendish.*"

Now a few words as to the present significance of this great anthem.

(1) The National Anthem has come to be the deepest and truest expression of the fundamental patriotic sentiments of the British people. As a race we are not always able readily to express our deepest feeling. It requires the agony of a great peril, or the exaltation of a great triumph to make the Briton vocal. In the last hundred years whenever Britons have been in dire and deadly peril, or whenever they have won a brilliant triumph and are humbly and

gratefully proud, whenever they are nerving themselves against an adverse fate, whenever the fountains of the great deeps of their souls are broken up, they have expressed their sentiments by singing this National Anthem. Its simple and vigorous verses are the one great vocal expression of the depth and intensity of our national emotion.

(2) It is to-day a great bond of imperial unity. There is only one National Anthem throughout the British Empire. The National Anthem which we sing in Canada is not one of our stirring Canadian patriotic songs, splendid as they may be, but "God Save the King." I wish most earnestly to submit that we ought to pay unique respect to the Anthem by our manner of singing it ; that we ought to sing it standing in a position of attention ; that its singing in a great assembly should not be merely the signal for donning overcoats and rubbers. It should be sung in these days as the solemn ritual of our Imperial unity. We should stand erect, and show respect to the Sovereign and to those ideals for which he stands. I would venture to deprecate the growing custom of asking audiences to rise and pay to some of our national songs the same respect which they pay to the National Anthem. For example, I am impressed when I hear the stately and somewhat dirge-like music of "Oh, Canada," but it is only a beautiful Provincial *chanson*. It is not our National Anthem. The National Anthem—the National Anthem of the whole Empire—should stand alone, and should be sung solemnly as the ritual of our unity, with all proper respect. Wherever this Anthem is sung and in whatever part of the empire, what memories it calls up ! The sons of old England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, think, when they sing it, of London and Windsor and Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's and the Tower, and all the glorious and splendid history of the mother of freedom. "God Save our Gracious King"—In every commonwealth and dominion and colony and dependency the whole world over, men stand together to chant "the ritual of our unity." The anthem is

echoed from shore to shore, and the ships on the high seas take up the chorus and send it on, an unbroken song—the symbol of the unity of the Empire.

(3) It is also the symbol to-day of the genius of our Empire. That genius means freedom, justice, mercy, tolerance and humanity. To-day there is being born a new imperialism, one that allows the fullest development and autonomy to all the constituent parts of our empire ; one that is entirely consistent with the most ardent and loyal Canadianism. That new imperialism may be interpreted in terms like these that follow. We have profoundest reverence for the ideals of our empire, and the keenest recognition of its responsibilities to the human race. To-day we are fighting because we believe that the British Empire stands for the highest and best things in the life of the whole world. The empire stands for international friendship and confidence, commercial and political honour, the safeguarding of the rights and the liberties of the smaller states, justice and mercy, progressively remedial legislation in dealing with the wrongs of mankind, the training of men in self-government, unity, and variety in that unity. And to-day it has stood forth to smite down the ruthless militarism of the Prussian caste which imperils them all. It stands as the champion of the cause of international truth-keeping, international brotherliness, and international peace. It is because in every part of the Empire we recognize that our ideals are one, and it is because we share the passion to fulfil these possibilities of blessing to mankind, that we profess as our creed this new imperialism.

(4) The National Anthem stands, too, in these perilous days, particularly as we sing that strong and virile second verse, as a challenge to all the sons of freedom and mercy and humanity the world over to "carry on" against the threatening peril, against the tortuous policies and the fiendish stratagems of the foe.

There is a Latin phrase from Virgil, "I fear the Greeks even when they are offering gifts." It refers to the old story that the Greeks outside the walls of Troy offered to present to the besieged Trojans a wooden horse. But the gift was fatal, because inside the horse were hidden Greek soldiers who should open the gates of the City by night. Hence the phrase. So I fear the Germans when they are, in a very faint and whispering fashion offering the gift of Peace. What is inside the wooden horse ? What underlies the proposal ? In one of the great New York papers the other day there was a picture of the Kaiser as a big bandit. Under his arms he had a bit of France and nearly all of Belgium ; all of Serbia and Montenegro, a bit of Roumania and all of Poland. He was staggering along under the load as best he could. Hugging his booty close, he says, "Let us have peace." The bandit goes off with the booty and says to the world, "Let us have peace"—his offer would seem to be directed mainly to arousing his own people, already sadly misled and misguided, to sterner efforts for their taskmasters, the Prussian war lords. No Peace proposals could possibly be entertained from the murderer still at large and still claiming the right to murder. Surely until there is restitution, reparation and adequate guarantee, we may "fear the Greeks even when they are offering gifts." No man who knows anything about the conditions of actual warfare, or who has any of his loved ones at the Front or on the way, or who has talked with those who have come back from that Inferno, would wish to prolong for one unnecessary hour this awful tragedy of blood and tears and destruction. And yet the blood and the sacrifice of those who have already made the supreme offering must challenge us to endure and to reinforce until our great moral and political objectives are gained and the world is made safe for peace, justice and decency. No well-intentioned suggestions from any quarter are going for a moment to interfere with the grim determination of the champions of freedom, by the blessing of God, to make freedom secure for the whole world.

President Perry conveyed the hearty thanks of the Empire Club to the speaker.

THE GERMAN PEACE OFFER

AN ADDRESS BY COLONEL GEORGE T. DENISON

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
December 28, 1916

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.—The reason I wish particularly to speak to you to-day is, that just at this moment there are propositions being made by our enemy which to my mind are exceedingly dangerous, and which make one exceedingly anxious for the future. I have not been afraid for one minute from the beginning of the war, as to the ultimate results of our fighting. When interviewed by a newspaper man a fortnight after the war opened, I said it would be a long war, lasting two or three years and most likely longer. He asked, "Have you any dread of the war going against us ?" I replied, "Not the slightest." I said, "Our soldiers will thrash them; we will go at it with vigour and I am sure we will defeat them ; but there is one haunting dread in my mind, that when our men have fought and died for our Empire, when they have won brilliant victories, when they have got our enemy beaten, that then some philosophic fool or diplomat or politician will come in, and give away all that our men have died for." I foresaw that danger before the war had lasted a fortnight, and now I begin to see the first symptom of the intrigue, to try and take away from us what we have won, and to do it by treachery and by a diplomatic trick. We have to consider most seriously what we ought to do in the face of this. I wrote a letter to one of our papers a short time ago in which I said that the Allies should give no indication of what their terms were ; that they should put no weapon in the hands of the enemy, nor aid him to incite his people to further exertions. Now that they have made this effort, there is no reason why an individual like myself, should not say what I think ought to happen to them ; they can't use what I say as a weapon in Germany, to urge their people to go on further with the fight, but I might say something to-day that might have some little influence towards causing people to look upon this question in the proper light.

I intend to deal with this subject from the historic standpoint. I want to go back into the lessons of history, because I tell you candidly that there is nothing more educative, nothing more illuminating, nothing that helps a man more to form a correct impression, than a careful, full, complete study of ancient and modern history. It was partly through that, I suppose, that I saw this war coming nearly ten years before it came. Of course I was ridiculed a good deal about it, but that did not bother me ; and now the ridicule is on the other side, yet those who attacked me, will now turn around and say they saw it coming all the time—it is a most extraordinary conversion.

I intend only to deal with the two greatest and most important wars in past history which were fought for world-power, because they both give useful lessons for us to consider to-day. One was the great struggle between Rome and Carthage ; the other was the war of Napoleon. The Emperor William's war now going on, came on without any reason ; the Germans had no wrongs to redress, no slights to resent, no grievances to complain of ; they went into this war purposely for world-power ; their best writers admitted it—they wanted to get the mastery of the world.

The war between Rome and Carthage continued from 264 B.C. to 146 B.C., a period of 118 years, broken by two treaties or truces or armistices. The first Punic War lasted for 23 years. It was a bitterly contested struggle between the Romans and the Carthaginians, and at the end of 23 years, in a great naval victory, the Romans got the upper hand. The war lasted so long, that great numbers of the men who fought in that big battle at the end of the war, were unborn when the war began. The Romans tried to prevent a recurrence of the trouble, so they took Sardinia from them, they took Corsica, they took an immense money indemnity from them, and they thought they would have lasting peace. They had peace for something like 22 years ; then Hannibal and his party in Carthage deliberately manœuvred, and intrigued and planned, to bring on another war, and they made another attack upon Rome. They went through Spain, across the Alps and down into Italy. Hannibal won several battles, the most important was that of Cannæ, which was the most deadly battle in history ; 76,000 Roman soldiers went into the battle, and when it was over 70,000 of them lay strewn upon the field. Among them was one of the consuls ; a large number of their knights, their "equites," and a great number of their prominent men. One consul, Varro, escaped with about 6,000 men and got to Rome; he tried to hold this remnant of men together, and told them they would still have to fight on, and in spite of that awful defeat where nearly all the gentlemen of Rome were killed—there were three bushels of knights' rings picked off the dead and sent over to Carthage as trophies of victory—In the face of that, when these men came back to Rome, the Roman Senate did not lose heart ; the Roman people who were left did not turn cowards, did not talk about peace, but they passed a vote of thanks to the consul Varro, because he had not lost faith in the commonwealth. They carried the war into Africa ; they won a complete victory at the battle of Zama, where Hannibal was very disastrously defeated. Then they thought they had them down under their feet once more. They took away from them all their colonies and settlements on the northern side of the Mediterranean, they confined them to Africa for the future ; they took away nearly all their ships, and all their war elephants ; and they bound them not to go to war with anyone without the consent of Rome. The Romans thought then that they had probably finished them, and would have no more trouble with them. That truce did last for

53 years. About 30 years after the peace was concluded, Marcus Cato, the censor, was sent on an embassy to Carthage. When he arrived there he was astounded on looking about, being an observant man, at the extraordinary revival that had taken place in that City. He was astonished at the extraordinary fertility of their luxuriant fields ; he saw that they had the most enormous magazines of arms ; he found that they had stored away an immense amount of material for the building of a fleet ; and when he came back he told the Romans in the Senate, that "Carthage must be destroyed" ; and in every speech he made after that in the Senate, no matter on what subject, when he finished it he said, "But I repeat that Carthage must be destroyed." Scipio Nasica was a different type of man, and he would get up and say, "No, I think Carthage must be preserved"—he must have been like some people we have in the old country at present—he would say, "We ought to save them and take care of them, for theirs is a very profitable country to trade with." The Carthaginians after a time got into war again with the Romans, for the last time. The Romans had had enough of it, and the Roman Senate gave orders that Carthage was to be destroyed, and when the Romans conquered them, and took possession of the city, they absolutely destroyed it, and the ruins were burning for 17 days ; then they ran a plow over the site of Carthage, and after that, as Mommsen says, "Roman peasants pastured the cattle of their distant masters upon the fields where for 500 years Phœnicians had trafficked and traded." That was the way in which that greatest nation of antiquity settled with the Carthaginians ; they wiped them out—and they secured peace for themselves for hundreds of years, and Rome was mistress of the world for many hundreds of years after that. They did not do that from anger, or from a feeling of vengeance, or cruelty ; they did it from sheer fright, that it was the only thing they could do to save themselves. That is the lesson that Rome teaches us from that war.

The next great war was that of Napoleon, who started out for world-power. He conquered nearly all Europe. There was hardly a country in Europe that did not obey his demands ; except Great Britain and Russia. He could not get at Great Britain, but he could get at Russia, and he drove the Russian Army back in battle after battle, and at last they abandoned Moscow and burned it. When the Russian Emperor heard of it, he sent for the English Ambassador, Lord Cathcart, and told him that not one calamity of that kind, nor not twenty, would cause him to submit, or enter into negotiations, but that he would retire out of Europe altogether, to the seats of his ancestors in the Asiatic wilds. Napoleon tried to make peace with him; Napoleon sent a message to him, and in my letter the other day to the newspaper, I quoted the Emperor's most emphatic letter, in which he told his officers that there was to be no conference of any kind along with any of Napoleon's people. That is the way the Russian Emperor of that day acted. It became necessary for Napoleon to retire out of Russia because of the burning of Moscow, the shortage in supplies, the want of food, and the fact that the Russian Cossacks were hovering around the flanks and rear of his army. The Russians followed him, but Napoleon could not get them to listen to terms of peace. When he got back into Germany from Russia, then Prussia and Austria rose against him, the whole people rose—it was called the war of liberation—and they fought Napoleon during the two years 1813-14 and they kept driving him back farther and farther, and drove him all the way to Paris, and when he got near there he fell back to Fontainebleau. He was trying to get to terms with them. I think it is a most pitiful story that is told of his messenger, Caulaincourt, whom he sent to Paris, when the allied powers were there, to discuss with them in conference what was to be done with Napoleon. There were orders in every outpost near Paris that they were not to allow any emissary from Napoleon to enter. The allies turned Caulaincourt back from Paris. He took refuge in a farm house, but afterwards through the friendship of the Grand Duke Constantine he obtained a secret interview with the Emperor Alexander, who told him in very concise and emphatic terms, that he could not do anything for him. What did the allies do ? Napoleon had to abdicate ; he had nothing to say about the terms that were given him. He was not heard nor listened to—and that was the proper way to treat him. He was sent to Elba, not as a question of terms, but he was just told to go ; he had to go where he was told. Within ten months he escaped from there, and got back to France, and made a triumphal progress to Paris, regained power there for a time, reigned for 100 days, and that reign was finished by the disastrous fight as far as he was concerned, but the decisive victory for us, at Waterloo. He then retreated to Paris, and from there he escaped to Rochefort, where he gave himself up to an English war vessel in order to save his life. It was said that if Blucher could have got hold of him, he would have promptly tried him by court martial, and would have shot him. Napoleon was afterwards sent to St. Helena, and suffered the most lonely confinement there on that Island for six years till he died. That was the fate of the great man who tried to get world-power. Two of his principal accomplices, Murat, King of Naples, and Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," were both tried by court martial, and both summarily shot ; so was Labedoyere, one of his great generals, and that pretty well finished that war, and the attempt by Napoleon to win world-power.

Now I would like to say a word or two about our neighbour to the South, who has been "butting in"—with an insolent, stupid letter telling us what we ought to do, and asking us to tell him what terms we would ask. What business is it of his ? I think, taking it in itself, it is a piece of impudence ; but when we come to think of their own history—which he ought to be old enough to know something about, it is very suggestive.—You will remember that Lincoln was trying to uphold the union, and in order to prevent it from being destroyed, Lincoln persistently refused to listen to any suggestions of peace, or to agree to open negotiations ; he just fought on and on and kept it up until the southern armies were defeated, and all the southern states were under the control of his men. They captured Jefferson Davis, the southern leader, and what did they do with him ? Did they give him a vote of thanks ? No, they imprisoned him in a casement in Fortress Munroe ; they put iron shackles upon his ankles ; they kept him there under General Miles, who treated him with the utmost cruelty, and in the most unkind and rude manner. Poor Jefferson Davis nearly died there. They kept him there for two years. Captain Wirtz, an officer who had committed no crimes, was executed, hanged by those people because they had got the upper hand. They took the vote away from all the men who had fought, and that meant that every fine man in the south was disfranchised. They gave the vote to the negroes, and in 1870 I was in Richmond, Va., where I saw a large number of the members of the State Legislature, who were negroes, many of whom I believe could neither read nor write. That was the awful penalty put upon the poor people who fought for their freedom in that war. Wilson ought to know that ; he is a Virginian, and he ought to know that Lincoln would not listen to any kind of terms, but that he was determined to make them know that he had got the mastery, in order to keep control for the future. The south were kept down that way for some years, until the northern armies were all disbanded, until the Government had but very few troops, and then by the exercise of their influence through the Ku Klux Klan, they cleaned out the negro power, and the nation has been in a proper state of agreement since.

Now, there are three cases we have had, two of them in modern times, which show the way in which the conquerors are apt to treat those who have done anything wrong. Jefferson Davis suffered terribly in the prison ; they had to let him out because they were afraid he would die. I saw him a very short time after he was discharged, and I did not think he could ever get over it ; yet he was a kindly, humane man, who never committed any crime, such as those horrible, detestable crimes that are being committed by the German people every day in this war.

The Germans made up their minds 40 years ago, without any grievance or wrongs or reasons, to make a great push for world-power. They established one of the most extraordinary systems of espionage in all civilized countries ; there was never anything equal to it that I ever heard of in history. They prepared immense stores of arms ; they drilled all their manhood ; they trained all their officers to the very highest point ; they had immense manœuvres for practising war every year ; they tried to build an enormous fleet; and all the time they were intending to make war. The university professors in most countries very innocently were hypnotized, and were inclined to speak favourably about German Culture and so deceive the public. In many such ways the Germans acted in a most treacherous manner, and though they were apparently friendly with us, they were determined all the time to conquer all nations and grasp the command as a world-power.

Now, the question is, what ought to be done with them ? That is the reason I have shown you the teachings of history. In the first place I would like to say that we must not listen to any terms whatever from those men. We must never have any of our representatives sit down at the same table with them; we must never discuss it in any way ; such a thing would be a cruel wrong to all those young men of ours who have fought and died for this country and for freedom, that have died for our empire. It would be an awful thing. Then again, suppose we did make a peace, the war would be on again very soon—just as soon as ever they could be ready ; and would that be fair to our posterity ? Should we now, either loosely or selfishly or stupidly, give them a truce, and enable them to get ready, and throw the burden and the responsibility upon our children ? Would it be wise ? Would it be right ? Would it be common sense ? Therefore, I say we must take exactly the same course as those other great countries did, when they found that they were in a position that they had to fight the thing out to the end. We must have no negotiations whatever with those men ; that is the most dangerous thing that could happen. That is why I am here to-day—to warn and urge and beg of you, to do everything you can to create the idea that we must never negotiate with the Huns. We are not doing that for vengeance, though it would be a just punishment to some of those people, and we ought to punish them in such a way as to secure peace for hundreds of years, if possible, and that can only be done by the utter destruction of the German power. We have got to face that, and to look back and see what was done in ancient history and even at the time of Napoleon, and we must see that that is the only way that we can pass on safety to our descendants.

Now the question comes, think of the awful crimes the Germans have committed—the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the cruelty to the Belgians, the deportation of Belgians, the cruelty to the peasantry of France, the murder of Miss Edith Cavell, the murder of Capt. Fryatt, and all those other things for which you cannot find parallels in the history of other countries. Those people ought to be punished. Maximilian never committed any crimes that I know of ; he was Emperor of Mexico, and had never done any wrong to anybody, but he was condemned and shot ; and why should the Emperor William get more tender treatment than other criminals who have lived in the past ? The man is a criminal. He is a criminal at heart, and he ought to be punished as such.

Now, the way to save us from future trouble, to my mind, is to destroy and break up the whole German Empire. The Hohenzollerns ought to be taken and be kept as prisoners. The different peoples that make up the German Empire—the kingdoms of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Hanover, Saxony, and others—

should all be asked to take up their freedom again, as separate and independent kingdoms, and not be allowed to send their representatives to Berlin, to sit in the Reichstag, to be overshadowed and dominated by the Huns of Prussia, and forced into wars against their will with other countries. The Prussians are a very different people from the much more civilized nations of southern Germany, and I have no doubt that all those nations, those different kingdoms, would be very much pleased indeed to obtain their freedom from the Huns. I think that it would be accepted by them with alacrity and with delight, and at the same time it would break up that German Empire, and prevent it from having the power to do such reckless misery to the world in the future. Another thing we ought to do: Schleswig-Holstein should be handed back to Denmark. The Kiel Canal should be neutralized, and opened to all nations; every fortification within 50 miles of it should be levelled to the ground; Krupp's factory and all other munition factories should be absolutely obliterated; their fleet should be taken from them, and divided up among those nations which have lost ships in this war; and their mercantile marine, every ship that can be got hold of, whether in their own harbours or anywhere else, should be used to replace those vessels which have been blown up by the submarines in the most cruel manner. If their fleet was wiped out and their country broken up in that way, the Kiel Canal should be taken from them—because that canal doubled the value of their fleet—Heligoland should be handed over to Britain. All those things should be done, and if they had to spend the money to repair the ruins they have made, they would not have the means to prepare for another war against our children.

The fact is that this man has been trying for world-power, the fact is that he is now beginning to feel that the war is going against him, and that he must sow dissension among the Allies. He is trying to get some excuse to stop the fighting just at the moment when he thinks it advisable for him to do so; but I think from all I see in the papers, that the Allies are not going to be such fools; I think they are going to stand firm, but I think there should be a public feeling, a public sentiment, that should spread all over the country so that our politicians, no matter how much they might be inclined to make fools of themselves, would be afraid to do it. You will understand that when I speak in that way I am not speaking as a politician. I am very much obliged to you for this opportunity of speaking to you. I am exceedingly pleased and complimented at the splendid number you have had here to-day, and I thank you very much for listening to me so attentively. I can only hope that every one of you will stand by me in my views, and I have no doubt you will, and help in any way to press them forward.

Rev. C. W. Gordon (Ralph Connor) moved a hearty vote of thanks, and Sir John Willison seconded.

FRANCE THROUGH CANADIAN EYES

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR JOHN SQUAIR, TORONTO UNIVERSITY

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
January 4, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It was on a bright July morning of 1884 that I first saw that splendid square in Paris, called the *Place de la Concorde.* It was the finest urban view I had ever seen. The natural situation of Paris is grand. The interesting curve of the Seine, which makes Paris a city of curves, with the important elevations of *Montmartre* and *Sainte-Geneviève* to right and left inside the city and the sweep of the more distant hills round about, must have given to Paris a unique distinction from time immemorial. And to this distinction have been added the works of man. Many other cities have attractions depending on river, hill, lake or sea, but in few do we see such a combination of nature and art as in Paris.

I entered the *Place* on that July morning from the south, and as we crossed the bridge (*pont de la Concorde*) over the Seine the brilliance of the scene was dazzling. To right and left were the fine bridges spanning the river, behind us the colonnaded façade of the *Palais Bourbon* where the Chamber of Deputiess its, in front of us the *Place* with its fountains, obelisk and statues and its background of public offices, broken in the centre so happily by the façade of the *Madeleine* which balances that of the *Palais Bourbon* across the river. To the right of the *Place* we saw the Gardens of the *Tuileries*, laid out in the 17th century by Le Nôtre, the great landscape gardener of Louis XIV., adorned with the sculpture of artists of three centuries, and a little farther on part of the *Louvre*, and still farther on the towers of *Notre-Dame*. To the left we had the *Champs-Elysées* with their noble elms whose terminus is marked, off yonder on an elevation, by the great triumphal arch of Napoleon in the *Place de L'Etoile.*

And from the midst of this brilliance of green shrubs and trees and the white marble of towers, columns and statuary we hear voices and see figures proclaiming the history of the past. Great Crusaders like Louis IX. call to us from the towers of *Notre-Dame* and the spire of the *Sainte-Chapelle*. We seem to see Louis XIV. and his stately courtiers moving about amongst the primly-kept beds and borders of Le Nôtre's classical creation. At another point the grim guillotine rises before us and we see the headsman's basket filled with the gory fruit of the noblest trees of France. Elsewhere we catch glimpses of the Little Corporal surrounded by his Body-Guard of generals laying foundations for temples and triumphal arches. The Citizen King, Louis Philippe, raising his Egyptian obelisk, and that dreamer-Emperor, Napoleon III., putting the finishing touches on the *rue de Rivoli*, and the *Louvre*, also appear. The roar of that multitude which crowded the *Place* on September 4, 1870, fills our ears. "Down with the Empire, long live the Republic" is the cry, and under the impulse of such as Gambetta the crowd rushes to the *Hôtel de Ville* and sets up a government of National Defence.

What is now that measured tread we hear coming down the *Champs-Elysées* ? It is the march of the German Army which once more has come to pollute the soil of the city. It is received in silence by the Parisians. No one, prompted by curiosity, looks out to see the hated host. For forty-eight hours the detested incubus will lie on the heart of Paris. God grant that no anniversary of that First of March, 1871, will ever return, to fill France and the world with sorrow.

Such is the *Place de la Concorde*, such are the thoughts called up by its view. It is an epitome of certain aspects of French history, a panoramic illustration of certain important phases of French art. Since 1884 additions have been made to its decoration, such as the splendid bridge *Alexandre-Trois* (1900) and the two buildings the *Grand Palais* and the *Petit Palais* in the *Champs-Elysées*, so that now the whole distance from the great colonnade at the east end of the *Louvre* to the triumphal arch of the *Etoile*, some two miles, is one glorious display of colonnades, pediments, arches, statues, gardens, fountains, bridges, of all periods from the Renaissance down to our own day. And what is inside the buildings is perhaps more precious that what is outside : paintings and sculpture of all times and countries from the days of Rameses II., of ancient Egypt, and of Sennacherib King of Assyria, down to the Third Republic.

Let no one say that we are dwelling too long on this comparatively small space of the soil of France. It is necessary to look at it carefully in order to get an impression of the artistic side of the French character. This beautiful space is not an accident, it is the visual expression of that effort towards beauty which has uplifted the French people for two millenniums. In no modern country has there been a stronger and more sustained artistic aspiration than in France. From the days of the Romans on, France has been a land of artists. Fine samples of architecture and sculpture still remain in the south of France to attest this. And all over the country, as for instance in Paris, or Lutetia as the Romans called it, ruins of baths and amphitheatres tell the story of the evolution of art in early France. And let it be said in passing that a great deal of the making of ruins has been due to Goths, Vandals and other breeds of Germans. The bombardment of Rheims is not an isolated example of German *kultur*.

Again, as soon as France recovered from the effects of the barbarian invasions which broke up the Roman power we find her continuing her artistic production.

The splendour of the Gothic Church is one of her claims to glory. The north of France, and not Germany as Germans aver, is the peculiar home of this noble form of art, which all the surrounding nations learn. France establishes herself as the leader in art. And that hegemony is well maintained down till the present. Through the Renaissance and classical periods she has but one great rival—the other Latin nation to the south of her—Italy. In the nineteenth century all the great movements in art have originated in France. French painters, sculptors and architects have led the world.

And what is true in the plastic arts is true also in that noblest of all the arts—literature. Some important Latin poets of the Roman Empire were Frenchmen. Ausonius was a man of Bordeaux. And after the so-called Dark Ages the first samples of modern literature are found in France. Long before Dante composed his Divine Comedy great poems like the *Chanson de Roland* had been sung and written down in France and had given inspiration to poets in the surrounding nations. England naturally, being as it were a part of France, became a second home for these *chansons de Geste*. Germany imitated them. Netherlanders, Scandinavians, Spaniards and Italians were scholars at the same school. (It is interesting to recall that the earliest manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* was written in England and is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford.) The leadership gained by France in this priod has been well maintained ever since. Great geniuses like Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, or Camoens adorn the history of other peoples, but nowhere has the river of literature been kept at a higher and more uniform level than in France, with a constant tendency to overflow its banks and submerge the neighbouring literature.

This pre-eminence is particularly noticeable at two points of time,—in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Macaulay in the Third Chapter of his History of England does not exaggerate when, in speaking of France under Louis XIV., he says : "In literature she gave law to the world. The fame of her great writers filled Europe. No other country could produce a tragic poet equal to Racine, a comic poet equal to Molière, a trifler so agreeable as La Fontaine, a rhetorician so skilful as Bossuet." This pre-eminence was so pronounced that a great part of the literature of Europe during nearly two centuries was a sort of echo of French literature.

In England, a long list of writers such as Addison, Dryden, Pope, Sterne, Thomson, and Cowper, to say nothing of Wycherley and other writers of comedy were much indebted to France. In Germany the influence of France was profoundly felt. Even that sturdy Prussian brigand, Frederick the Great, constantly spoke French and has left us a whole row of books written in that language (and few or none in German). He even essayed to write French verse and was anxious to found academies at Berlin which should rival those of Paris, and he invited Frenchmen like Voltaire and Maupertius to his Court to found and conduct them. In fact, in all matters having to do with the arts and literature Frederick appeared to try to be as much like what Louis XIV. had been as possible. Louis has chosen Versailles as his chief residence, had built a great castle there and laid out extensive gardens. Frederick felt that he must do the same for Potsdam and so he built Sanssouci and the New-Palace surrounding them with parks, fountains and sculpture by French artists of his own time (Pigalle) and decorating their interiors with paintings by such as Watteau, Pater and Lancret. And even to-day after a long period of German diligence in attempting to wipe out all traces of French influence in speech or handicraft, the visitor is struck with the strong resemblance between Versailles and Potsdam. Not only so, but in the eighteenth century all the kinglets, princelets and dukelets of Germany (and there were a host of them) were fashioning the life of their little courts on the pattern of the great court of Paris and Versailles. Paris was for them the great capital, the centre of the world. If they were too poor to travel thither themselves, they clubbed together to pay a man like Grimm to write them circular letters regarding the news, important and otherwise, of the big city at the heart of things. And now to-day one can see at, say Weimar or Hanover, palaces and parks which recall Versailles in a very vivid fashion. Of course they all attempted to speak French and French became, or rather continued to be, the language of diplomacy and polite society throughout Europe, as it has remained indeed till the present moment.

Again, in the nineteenth century French literature and art attained a great height. They did not have such a lofty relative position compared with England and Germany, as in the seventeenth century, but the absolute eminence is unquestioned. The brilliant productions of Hugo, Dumas, de Musset, George Sand, Michelet, Taine, Delacroix, Delaroche, Rude, Gounod and a host of others in all realms of art take their place alongside the noblest things done by the men of any other nation.

I have dwelt thus long upon the art and literature of France because they seem to be amongst the strongest elements of the *union sacrée* prevailing since the war began. You could hardly evoke as full a measure of enthusiasm in France as in England by referring to political institutions. The revolutions of France have not been as fully accepted as the revolutions of England. They have been too profound and are not yet remote enough in time. English-speaking men have been inclined to shrug their shoulders and speak pityingly of poor France as being fickle and unstable in politics. But we must not forget that Frenchmen of the seventeenth century spoke of England in a very similar strain. (As, for example, Bossuet in 1669 in his oraison funèbre over Henriette Marie, wife of Charles I). To men like Bossuet, France was the firmly established nation, whilst poor England was like the "troubled sea" which cannot rest. We must not forget what took place in England between 1649 and 1746. During that century it was somewhat uncertain what dynasty would reign over England. Nor should we forget that even now there are men who lay Jacobite garlands at the foot of statues, and on commemorative cairns in battlefields, and who drink to "Charlie over the water." Political upheavals are apt to die down very slowly indeed, particularly in countries like France or England which have a long history, and in which old and honourable institutions have become interwoven with human interests, passions and glories. In one English-speaking country, the United States, a great revolution was effected with comparative ease, but there the existing institutions were easily fitted to new conditions. There was no throne to overturn, no aristocracy to dispossess. Still, even in the United States there were many loyalists (one million out of three) who protested against revolution, and laid down their lives and forfeited their worldly estates out of attachment to England and her King. And that is not surprising, for the thirteen Colonies had no substantial material grievances. It is hardly likely that a revolution would have occurred at all if it had not been for the doctrinaire atmosphere prevailing in the world due to the political theorizing of the philosophers of France.

Naturally the doctrinaire atmosphere was still more penetrating in France, and when the moment for political changes came men were urged forward at a more rapid rate, towards more daring attempts than the bulk of the nation would justify. The great schism in the body of France occurred which has not yet been healed, although the solemn pact of the *union sacrée* of August, 1914, accomplishes the feat more nearly than any other event since 1789.

No, Frenchmen are not less stable than other men, not less able to give and take and to form compacts for the defence of what is sacred and precious. They are not fighting now for a mere political formula, they are fighting for France, for sweet France, their mother, for France the light bearer, the home of noble inspirations and generous deeds, and they have made and will make all kinds of sacrifices to this end. Frenchmen may not be quite so convinced as Englishmen regarding the value of parliamentary goverment, but they are defending France,—the France which they and many generations of ancestors have defended and worked for. For her they have reclaimed marsh and sand dune, have planted orchard and vineyard and drunk her generous wine. For her they have made highways, dug canals and pierced tunnels. For her they have built palace and church, sung songs and painted pictures. Their France is the land of green meadows and fruitful fields where the good things of life are evenly distributed, a land of brave men and fair women where politeness is easily practised. She is a land where science and learning flourish, where the hard, dry fact is illuminated by its setting of brilliant, limpid speech,—the speech of France so long practised by cultured men that it has become supple and clear for all uses, for eloquence, wit, poetry and scientific exposition.

And now let me say in closing that I can make no more important recommendation to this city of Toronto and province of Ontario than to pay much more attention to this language and the literature contained in it than ever before. I cannot now, in saying this, be charged with trying to magnify my office. I have retired. I am only giving you good, plain, uninterested advice. Teach the language of your noble ally in your schools. Let your children learn the speech of the men who won the Marne and kept Verdun, and so saved civilization. No richer legacy can you leave them. Let us remember, too, that the same language is the natural speech of two millions of our fellow Canadians at whom we have sometimes looked askance. Let us remember that the nearest way to their hearts is to speak their tongue. To encourage the study of that tongue amongst our English-speaking Canadians is a highly patriotic act. No one thing would conduce more to Canadian unity than the sympathetic cultivation of the French language by us English-speaking Canadians. It is true that for many years it has been on our official programme for secondary schools and universities, but we have not been too serious about it. We have been satisfied with too low a standard of knowledge in both teachers and pupils. We have been prone to look upon it as a subject for girls only. We have thought boys needed something more robust. Surely the language of the defenders of Verdun will be considered robust enough for our boys and men in the future.

Let us not turn all our attention towards scientific and technical education. Some of the things called "imponderables" have their importance also. The people of Ontario must not forget that for the most part we have been merely playing with linguistic study. Great changes must be effected in standards for teachers and pupils, in time-tables, programmes, methods and aims. And the non-pedagogical public can do much to aid in a new movement. A rich man or two properly guided could found prizes and libraries in schools and colleges which would do a world of good. There are High Schools and Collegiate Institutes all over this Province which are in need of these things, and even the University of Toronto could profitably absorb large sums of money in establishing a proper equipment for the study of such things as French language and literature.

If I may be permitted, I would say that I have made a little start in this matter and hope to do more. But I cannot do much. There is room for some of you. Will you step into the breach ?

A vote of thanks was proposed by Count Rochereau de la Sabliere and seconded by Rev. A Logan Geggie.

CANADIAN EMPIRE BUILDERS

AN ADDRESS BY PETER McARTHUR, ESQ.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
January 11, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—After such an introduction I must ask you to allow me a minute or two to get settled down and accustom myself to being introduced in poetry. I have been introduced in various ways, but this is the first time that the muse has celebrated me, and it is only one of many embarrassments I have met since coming to Toronto. To begin with, I was late in getting here, but of course you know that the farmer always has to do his chores, and you never know just how long they will take. The President has scattered my ideas, and I will have to fumble around to see if I can find anything.

I will not be so disingenuous as to say that I am not accustomed to appearing on the public platform or speaking, but with all sincerity I may say that on this occasion I have a different audience ; I feel that this time I have wandered a long way from "Pastures Green" and "The Red Cow," and feel somewhat lonesome for a moment or two. I have met one embarrassment after another since coming here. To begin with, on the street a friend came along and, holding me suddenly, he said, "What on earth are you doing in Toronto ?" I told him that I had come to address the Empire Club, and he shook his head and said, "Oh, yes, they are going to throw you to the lions." Well, Mr. President, when I come here and see so many lions about me, I think perhaps the best I can do is to promise not to bite your lion.

Your President has told you of my qualifications for addressing such a club as this, and perhaps you will absolve me from boasting if I assure you that I have still another qualification, for I may say without boasting that I have had some special opportunities for studying the Empire. As a matter of fact, I have been dead broke in all the great centres of Anglo-Saxon civilization. This has given me an opportunity to study Anglo-Saxon civilization from the bottom up, instead of from the top down, and I assure you there is a great difference—differences of the kind told of in Kipling's verse :

> The toad beneath the harrow knows
> Exactly where each tooth-point goes.

I have felt a good many tooth-points. I know that the usual way of studying the Empire is with a return ticket in your pocket, and in such a case as that I might quote the other two lines of the poem :

> The butterfly beside the road,
> Preaches contentment to that toad.

But at such a time as this I feel it would ill befit me to take up much time in joking when there is so much that is tragic in progress. But while I feel this, I do not feel that there is anything I could say to you that would increase your patriotism or your wishes to make sacrifices for the Empire, or to do your duty more fully than you are doing. For that reason I have ventured to give some thought to other things that may be of importance later on, the outskirts of imperial questions that we may fully begin to deal with now, because the public opinion by which these questions will be settled is being formed at the present moment ; and in this connection I am going to report to you the results of my personal observations.

We see things differently sometimes in the City from the way in which they are seen in the country ; and it may surprise you to learn that at the present time the influence that is shaping opinion most rapidly is not the press or the platform or the pulpit—by that I mean the metropolitan press, the great dailies,—but the sceptre of power has really passed to the little country weekly ; but even more than that, the people of the country are being influenced by the letters that are received from the boys at the Front, or on their way to the Front. Those letters are coming by the thousands, I think I may safely say hundreds of thousands ; they are penetrating to every community of the country ; they are read keenly by the friends and relatives of the boys and also by their neighbours, and many of them are published in the little local papers. Now, these letters have no purpose back of them beyond giving the impressions of the boys in those European countries; the impressions they find in coming in contact with the Old-World civilization. And something is happening that I feel, and hope to show you, is entirely in accord with the genius of the Canadian people. We are having a great force developed which is entirely leaderless. Nobody could have planned it ; nobody foresaw it ; but it simply amounted to this, that at the present moment we are having a democratic conference regarding the affairs of the Empire. Our boys who are in the Old World are meeting their fellows, and the impressions they receive they transmit to us, and the result is that a public opinion is forming rapidly and becoming very important. So that while we are all interested in the approaching Imperial Conference, and while we all look forward to the accomplishment of great things at that Conference, it is well not to overlook the fact that the public opinion by which the action of that conference must stand or fall is now being formed by the democratic conference of the boys at the Front. Having that in mind, I have little fear for the future of Canada. I believe that no matter what theories may be developed in one way or another, the great mass of the people are putting forth their power spontaneously as a democracy, and that the final adjustment will be based upon that.

Now, the subject to which I wish to call your attention specially to-day, is one that has been very close to my heart since I was a boy. I was brought up on the farm on which I live. I have spent most of my life on that farm, even though I have roamed abroad, I have lived the life of the people, and have been in contact with them. Why shouldn't I ? I am entirely one of them, and in studying the lives of the men and women who laid the foundations of Canada, I have been forced to a certain conclusion which I should like to lay before you ; and I shall venture, even in the presence of historians, to say that from my point of view the history of Canada has not yet been written, that possibly it never can be written ; because the history of Canada reminds me very much of the story of the city that was saved by one poor man, and his name was forgotten. The foundations of Canada were laid by wise, poor men, and their names are forgotten. It is true that from the beginning we have had Governments with leaders and great men, but the real work of making Canada a part of the Empire was the work that was done by the plain people; and, the more I study the work of those plain people, the more I am forced to feel that I am contemplating one great result of the movements of history ; that here was something as worthy of an epic as anything that ever captivated the attention of a poet. In the new world there was a wilderness which was valueless as far as civilization was concerned, but from different parts of the world people began to come to this wilderness—the United Empire Loyalists from the United States, the poor from many English, Irish and Scotch parishes. They carried in their hand all that they had with them in order to enable them to face the wilderness, and as I look at their work I feel that Canada's position is different from that of other parts of the Empire. We are told by those who have studied the matter that in the old world there never was any work of clearing up the land, that the land was cleared during the progress of the centuries by the nibbling of the flocks, that the shepherds pastured their flocks in the clefts and such spaces, and then, during the heat of the day, they would drive them into the woods and gradually the sheep nibbled the young growth so that in time, as the land wore away, new growth came in because the old was destroyed. But here in Canada it was different. Men and women had to face incredible hardships to make the land valuable for the use of humanity. As I look at it, Canada has been added to the Empire acre by acre, just as a building is erected brick by brick. Our courageous forefathers came here with only the axe and the torch, and each with incredible toil added a piece to the British Empire.

While I may not have made myself sufficiently clear on that, I think if you give it some consideration you will see that the point is true, and that those men and women in their way and in their degree were just as truly Empire builders as Clive or Rhodes, for the work they did they deserve gratitude. As I think of them, I am led to feel that perhaps I would not be going too far if I said that instead of being leaderless, merely moved by the unrest that sent them out to the wilderness to build new homes, those people were just as truly God-led as were the Israelites of old ; and those of you who can remember the pioneer days, or those parts of the country where pioneer conditions prevailed until recent times, will remember the fires with which they cleared up the land. As I think of them, I feel that I would not be going too far if I adopted the older symbolism, and said that those men and women who came to Canada had their pillar of smoke by day, and their pillar of fire by night, just as truly as had the Israelites of old.

But when I think of those men I also think of some of the stories about them, and I should like to tell you one pioneer story that has always appealed to me ; it will give you some idea of the kind of men they had in those days. It is the story of Neil McAlpine of Fingal, one of that fine old type of Scotchmen of whom I trust some still survive. It appears that before coming to this country he was engaged in business as a merchant in Scotland, and it was his habit once a year to send a boat to Glasgow for supplies. On one occasion, after the boat was loaded, Neil decided to go home across the country and he let the captain take the boat, but by mistake he carried the clearance papers in his pocket. As the captain was going home a storm arose, so he put into port, but because he did not have the clearance papers he was forced to put out to sea again. The waves broke over the vessel, so that the cargo was practically destroyed. McAlpine was very much bothered about this, as it meant a great financial loss, but one day he met a friend, who discussed it, and he said, "Why, I think if you brought suit, you could recover from the Government, because there is a higher law than that of clearance papers, namely, the recognized right of a vessel to put into port in a storm." McAlpine took legal advice and brought suit, and in time the papers were served as "McAlpine *vs*. the King," and McAlpine won and was paid damages ; and years afterwards, when he was here in Canada, if he got into a dispute with anyone and they threatened him with the law, the old man would shrug his shoulders and say, "Hoot, don't you know that I lawed with the King, and I winned on him, too ?" And I would just like to say in passing that I am glad to find we are not so much given to going to law here in Canada as they were used to in those earlier days. I can remember many good farmers who used to work hard and save their money all summer so that they could go to law all winter. It was the only real pastime they had.

McAlpine was something of a heroic figure and if you go now up to that Talbot settlement, you will still find old people there who date events from the year in which McAlpine "saved the settlement." What I wish to tell you is a story of how he saved the settlement. On one occasion they had a severe frost that destroyed all the wheat. McAlpine, being a man of some means, had not sold his wheat during the previous two years, the price not being satisfactory, and when this year came when they had no wheat, McAlpine had in his granaries 3,000 bushels, and he used to talk to his family about the foresight he had shown in saving his wheat in this way. But one day he was in St. Thomas and he got word that the miller wanted to see him. He went to the miller, who said, "I hear you have got a lot of wheat ?" McAlpine said he had. The miller then said he would pay so and so for it, mentioning some very unusual price. McAlpine stopped and began to figure a little, and he realized that that price was much higher than the miller could possibly get in return if he ground the wheat into flour, so he asked him what he was going to do with the wheat. The miller said, "I am going to sell it to the settlers for seed grain." Then for the first time it dawned on McAlpine what his wheat meant to that settlement ; he saw that it might be used to take blood money from the struggling people who were trying to gain a foothold in their new homes ; and as he told it afterwards, he said that the cold sweat came out on him as he thought of it, the horror of it. So he hurried home, and the next day being the Sabbath, and he being a good Presbyterian elder, he went to church early and stood by the gate and, as the people came in, he would lean over to each one and whisper, "You can get seed grain at my place bushel for bushel ; you take your bushel now, and you pay me back a bushel when you have the harvest." He was not going to have profit made on his wheat. He told this to everyone who attended the Presbyterian Church ; but when he got home in the afternoon, he remembered that although Presbyterians were plentiful, there were others in the settlement—Anglicans, Catholics, Baptists, Methodists—and so he put each of his sons on horseback and sent them to one of each of the other churches, and at the time of evening service one of McAlpine's sons stood at each church and whispered to the people as they were going in, "You can get seed grain from my father, bushel for bushel ; you take your bushel now and bring back the bushel at the harvest." On Monday morning the people gathered with ox teams and all sorts of conveyances to get the seed grain. They would pass the house and go back to the granary where the grain was stored and McAlpine would stand at the door and hold up his cane—he was a great tall man, over six feet—and he would say, "Remember, now, bushel for bushel" ; and they would go back to the barn and the boys would fill the bags for them with the grain, and when they were going out the old man would ask how many bushels; they would tell him and he would write it down in the book. That procession kept passing by for three days, until all the wheat was gone, and all the settlers had their seed grain.

Now I want to come to a later date and tell you the story as it was told me by his grandson, Dr. Hugh McCallum. On one occasion Dr. McCallum was down at Shedden at a consultation on a stormy evening and, after he got back to the railway station, he was walking up and down waiting for the train when he suddenly saw a little withered old man keeping pace with him and looking up at him. Finally, the good-natured doctor stopped and looked at him and said, "Well, my good man, is there anything I can do for you?" The old man shook his head, looked at him and said, "If I didn't know he was dead, I would think this was Captain Storms"—"Captain Storms" was the name they had in the settlement for Neil McAlpine. Dr. McCallum said, "Well, they tell me I resemble him very much; I am his grandson; you mean Neil McAlpine, don't you?" The old man said, "Yes, you are the dead spit of him." Then it suddenly occurred to the doctor that he could get the story from one who had been there at the very time when Neil McAlpine saved the settlement, and he asked the man if he remembered that time. "Indeed I do that," said the man. So the doctor invited him to sit by the stove in the station, and the old man told him the story. He said, "We had come out from Ireland just the year before, and there was a large family of us, all young children, and all my father had been able to do was to clear the little piece of land and put in turnips, and we lived on turnips all winter. We had boiled turnips three times a day. But when the news went out that the seed grain could be had at McAlpines, my father went with the others to get the seed grain, and when he came back at night he had a bag of flour that Neil McAlpine had given to him, and he had a jug of buttermilk and a jug of molasses that Neil McAlpine's wife had given so that my mother could make scones for us ; and as soon as possible my mother began to cook the scones; and that night I ate so many that at four o'clock in the morning I was so sick that they gave me a dose of castor oil. Oh, yes, I remember the time when McAlpine saved the settlement." The old man went on, "Next day the priest came to see us, and he had been out for months through other parts of the settlement where the people were just as poor as we were, and it was weeks since he had tasted bread, and my mother was a proud woman when she was able to put down the scones before the father. When he saw them on the table he said, 'Woman, woman, where did you get the wheaten bread ?' And my mother told him it was from Neil McAlpine ; and the priest crossed himself as he drew up to the table and he said, 'God bless that old heretic, Neil McAlpine.' And before he stopped he ate seven scones." Dr. McCallum said to the old man, "But your people were Catholics, weren't they ?" "Yes," said the man, "We were all Catholics." The doctor said, "But Neil McAlpine was a Presbyterian." The old man drew himself up and he said, "On Sunday he was a Presbyterian, but on week days he was a neighbour."

That, gentlemen, was a type of the empire-builders that we had in Canada. I could duplicate the story with many others—perhaps not as good stories—that I have gathered during the years ; but perhaps I have done enough if I have called your attention to the work done by our forefathers. I have found it necessary to do this because on various occasions I have been asked to address the soldiers before they went to the Front. At first, I found myself at some difficulty because the army was made up so largely of the British born, but still there were many of our Canadian boys in those armies, and at first I hardly knew what I should say to them. They were going out to face battle without a history, one might think. I need not say to the English boys how glorious their history was—all the world knew it ; it was the same by the Scotch, the Irish, the Welsh. But our Canadian boys—what should I say to them ? Then I remembered that long battle by which the wilderness was overcome, and I tried to tell them what they had to be proud of. I tried to give them something of the emotion I have felt myself, because in the course of human events, it became possible for me to buy that part of Canada which my father cleared and added to the British Empire. When the sale was completed and the documents of record were handed to me, I found among them an old piece of parchment with great seals on it and faded writing, and I looked and found that it was the original royal patent which my father had secured when he took up the land ; and I confess to you that I looked at that document with a feeling of awe ; I realized that the piece of land which I owned had been described in that document for the first time since the world began. It had been wilderness before my father took it, and as I looked at that document I realized that my father did not simply get his land from the British Government, but that he took it from the hand of God Himself. Gentlemen, I tell you that when I look at that document, I am as proud of it as if I had an ancestor whose name was written in the Doomsday Book. I told this to the soldier boys, and told them that I felt they could go out and face battle shoulder to shoulder with the men from any part of the Empire and feel that they, too, had a glorious history.

Our fathers toiled, but in the glorious fight
   The God of nations led them by the hand,
With pillared smoke by day and fire by night
   They wrought like heroes in their promised land.
The wilderness was conquered by their might,
   They made for God the marvel that He planned—
A land of homes where toil could make men free,
The final masterpiece of Destiny.

How can I rest when they will not be still ?
  When every wind is vocal and their sighs
Breathe to my ear from every funeral hill
  And through each field where one forgotten lies ?
They haunt my steps and burden me until
  I plead with hands outstretched and streaming eyes :
"I am not worthy ! Let my lips be dumb !
The mighty song and singer yet shall come !"

The well-greaved Greeks and Priam's savage brood
  Were not more worthy of immortal song
Than these in homespun, who alone withstood
  Hunger and Fear to make our Freedom strong ;
But till the singer comes, at least the good
  They wrought we must from age to age prolong ;
Learning from them, let this our watchword be :
Free from all tyrants from yourselves be free !

Prof. Wrong moved the vote of thanks, which was seconded by Dr. McLaren.

BRITAIN'S EFFORT

AN ADDRESS BY N. W. ROWELL, ESQ., K.C., M.P.P.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
January 18, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The last occasion on which I had the honour of addressing this Club was just a few days after the battle of Ypres, when we in Canada had received word of the magnificent courage and achievement of our Canadian troops, and I am glad that on this occasion I can mention a report of this morning relating another daring exploit by our Canadians across the seas. The brilliant record which our first Canadian division made in the second battle of Ypres has been maintained by our four divisions serving at the Front, and one would deem it a privilege if to-day we might have an opportunity of paying a tribute to them, and speaking of Canadians which were and are engaged in this great war.

But that, gentlemen, is not my subject. My subject to-day is "Britain's Effort"; the part which the United Kingdom itself has played in this great struggle.

The question which British statesmen had to face in the early stages of the war was this; how could the free, peace-loving, commercial democracy of Great Britain be transformed into a powerful and effective fighting organization so that she might meet on something like equal terms the highly organized and thoroughly trained Prussian military machine, which had been the development of generations, and upon which the German authorities had spared neither intellect, energy, nor money. This was the herculean task which confronted the people of Britain. How have they accomplished it? And what part have they so far taken in the war?

In order that we may appreciate what has been accomplished during the past two and a half years, we do well to pause for a moment and recall the position of Great Britain and Germany at the outbreak of the war.

The British Empire is widely separated from its component parts. Great Britain herself depended upon her overseas Dominions and other countries for a substantial proportion of her food supply, and a still larger proportion of her raw materials, to keep her industrial organization in successful operation. Her merchant marine provided the only sure means of communication between the different portions of the Empire and the other nations of the world, and her navy the only protection of these highways of commerce and communication.

As Great Britain's great objective was peace and not war, her naval and military organization was for defence and not for aggression. Owing to her island position, her people believed that with an adequate navy they would be able to defend themselves and the Empire, and that a large standing army was unnecessary. Britain's traditional policy has been to maintain a strong navy, and a very limited and highly efficient standing army. Both of these she possessed at the outbreak of the war, and to this extent she was prepared for any contingency. Her arsenals and munition plants were on a scale commensurate with her naval and military establishments, but the whole organization of the country, both social and industrial, was on a peace footing. The great object of her foreign policy was to maintain peace. She was a democracy, largely devoted to the pursuit of commerce, in which individualism was highly developed, and where enlargements of State control were accepted with reluctance by her citizens.

The position of Germany was entirely different. She was a compact country, with over 70,000,000 population, largely self-contained. Her great ambition was increased power and enlarged territory. Her ruling classes believed in war, gloried in it, and proclaimed as their ambition conquest and power by means of the sword. Her whole military, industrial and social organization was on a war footing, or potentially so. Every man was trained to military service. She had the strongest and best equipped standing army in Europe. She had also been steadily and largely increasing her navy, so that she was gradually becoming in a position, as she thought, to challenge Great Britain's place on the sea. Her arsenals and munition plants were on a scale commensurate with her military and naval establishments and her war-like ambitions. She possessed a highly developed industrial organization, and her secondary industries—iron and steel, dye and chemical plants—were so adapted that they could be converted into plants for the production of munitions and explosives at almost a moment's notice. Strategic railways were constructed to her frontiers, so that she could mobilize her forces in the minimum of time and with the maximum of efficiency. She could multiply the efficiency of her army by her ability to move her troops from one frontier to the other as the exigencies of war might demand. Her form of Government was autocratic and the military element dominated the whole. Her governmental machine was so organized that the whole nation would move at the word of command.

Before the war a considerable element of her population, represented in the Social Democratic movement, were opposed to these warlike ambitions of Germany and sought to bring about a better condition of affairs. But the war party dominated and controlled, and the moment war broke out the whole nation was put on a war footing.

Germany not only had her own marvellous industrial organization adapted to the production of arms and munitions, but by her successes in the early days of the war she secured possession of the whole industrial organization of Belgium, and a most important part of that of France. Belgium possessed some of the best plants in the world for the production of arms and munitions ; and by the occupation of one of the most important industrial sections of France, Germany also secured possession of 75 per cent. of France's total steel producing capacity, and 70 per cent. of her coal supply.

Knowing her own mind, and making her own plans, and dominated by her military ideals, she apparently had been for years preparing for the struggle; and accumulating arms and munitions on an unbelievable scale. She had strengthened her position in Europe by her alliances, particularly by the dominating position she held in the councils of Austria, and which made Austria largely subject to her will ; so that you had a combined population of about 120,000,000, largely directed by the military authorities of Germany.

Great Britain had become a member of the Triple Entente with France and Russia, in order that, by the friendly co-operation of the three, they might maintain the peace of Europe, as against German aggression, acting independently or through the Triple Alliance. There appears to have been some understanding between the powers of the Entente that if Germany forced a war on France and Great Britain decided to take part in it, her contribution would be the navy and a small but highly trained expeditionary force of about 150,000 men, to be sent to the continent to assist in war on the continent.

There is no doubt that France, Russia and Great Britain felt reasonably confident that with this assistance from Great Britain, France and Russia would be able to meet the situation on the continent, and defeat Germany and her allies.

To the extent to which it was anticipated, Great Britain would co-operate with Russia and France, in the event of a war with Germany in which all joined. Great Britain was the best prepared of the three ; she was, in fact, prepared down to the last detail to carry out her part.

Outside of Germany, no one adequately appreciated the extent of Germany's preparation for this struggle; nor the efficiency of her organization which enabled her immediately to put immense armies into the field;

to supply them with the necessary food and munitions, and to strike a staggering blow at France before France could thoroughly mobilize her forces and bring them into effective action.

It may have taken Great Britain some time to realize Germany's strength, but before many months had passed, Government and people alike came to the conclusion that a war with the Central Powers could not be successfully prosecuted on the limited liability principle, and that it would be necessary for all the allied nations to put forth their utmost strength to bring the war to a successful conclusion. Great Britain, therefore, in the midst of the war, had to face the situation of changing her whole social and industrial organization from a peace footing to a war footing. That would be a most difficult task under any circumstances. It was a particularly difficult task when, at the same time, she was withdrawing millions of men to form her new armies.

How far has she accomplished it ?

THE NAVY

The task of the British Navy was to keep the German battle fleet bottled up in German harbours, or to destroy it if it ventured forth ; to clear the high seas of such portions of the German fleet as were outside German harbours, and of the raiders which were preying upon her commerce ; to provide for the safe transport of the troops of the Dominions to the Mother Country, and of the troops of the Empire from Great Britain to the various fields of operations in Europe, Asia and Africa; and to see that they were adequately supplied with food and munitions. The British Navy has accomplished these great tasks so quietly and so effectively, that the world has failed to appreciate to this day, the magnitude of the service of the British Navy to the cause of liberty and humanity.

The navy has since been called upon to face the difficult situation created by the German submarine menace, and undoubtedly the courage and skill with which this situation has been largely met has made possible Great Britain's continued participation in the war. There have been some losses in the navy, it is true—both ships and men. But in the shipyards of Great Britain thousands of workers have been building new ships for the navy, and the Admiralty has enlisted and trained thousands of new seamen.

After you have provided for every ship that has gone down, the British Navy is to-day 50 per cent. stronger in ships than when the war broke out. After you have provided for every gallant sailor who has lost his life, there are two sailors in the British Navy to-day for every sailor when the war broke out.

Without the navy, the continued existence of the British Empire would be impossible. Were it not for the strength of the British Navy, neither allied nor neutral commerce could be carried upon the high seas. The navy has made victory possible in this war; and the continued command of the sea is the surest guarantee of ultimate victory for the Allies.

THE ARMY

Great Britain was to send to the continent an expeditionary force of 150,000 men or thereabouts. This force was promptly sent, and the record of their gallant service in the retreat from Mons, in the battle of the Marne, and in the first battle of Ypres, is one of the most glorious in the annals of our race.

We were told at the outbreak of the war that 10 per cent. of a nation's population was the maximum number that any nation could put into the field, and at the same time maintain her home organization intact and efficient, so as to properly equip and feed the army at the front. Lord Kitchener, before he died, had the satisfaction of seeing that in response to his appeals Great Britain had raised by voluntary enlistment approximately four and a half millions of men for her army and navy, almost 10 per cent. of the entire population. It is the greatest voluntary army ever raised, and the fact that such an army was raised by voluntary effort, when no hostile foot had been placed upon Britain's shore is one of the finest possible tributes to the strength of democracy, and to the courage and virility of the British people. Since compulsory service has been adopted, several hndred thousand have been added to the strength of the army, so that I think we are fair in assuming that up to this time not less than five million men have been called to the colours in both army and navy.

All these soldiers had to be trained and equipped. That was in itself a colossal undertaking, and we cannot too highly appreciate the invaluable service rendered by Lord Kitchener in the enlistment, training and equipment of this great force. One cannot but deeply regret that he did not live long enough to see how magnificently these gallant soldiers fought at the Somme.

THE AIR SERVICE

At the outbreak of the war Great Britain had a very limited but highly efficient air service. Since then she has enormously increased the number of her machines, as well as the number of her trained airmen. Wherever you go in Great Britain you find factories turning out new aeroplanes or seaplanes ; for the Air Service is also an important adjunct to the navy. Frederick Palmer is responsible for the statement that new air machines are crossing from Great Britain to France at the rate of thirty-five per day. This gives one some idea of the magnitude of the industry which has been developed for the production of aeroplanes alone. On the western front Great Britain and France have undoubtedly secured the supremacy of the air. I am told that citizens of our Empire take to the air as they do to the water, and that Britain is in process of developing an Air Service equal in quality, if not in extent, to her naval service.

In this important branch of the service our Canadians excel, and the British government is now embarking on enormous capital expenditures in Canada, to develop the air industry and to train airmen for the

Imperial Service. It is the one branch of our army organization for which we, so far as Canadians, have made no provision. Surely the time has come for us to develop this important branch of the service.

GUNS AND MUNITIONS

It required only a limited number of arsenals and munitions plants to provide the necessary guns and munitions for a standing army of 250,000 men—Great Britain's peace footing—but when it became necessary to provide guns and munitions for an army not of 250,000, not of 2,500,000, but probably for an army of 5,000,000 men, it necessitated a change in the whole industrial and social organization of the country. Great Britain had to build new plants ; she had to have new dies and tools prepared; and new machinery made. The whole mechanism of new gigantic industrial organizations had to be created ; yet with a patience, a courage, and a determination which, I venture to think, judged by the result, is not only unsurpassed, but unequalled in history save by the heroic efforts of France, in the short space of two years, Great Britain has transformed her whole social and industrial system from a peace to a war footing. She now has over 4,000 controlled establishments in the production of munitions and war supplies. She has ninety-five Government arsenals or factories producing guns, munitions and high explosives, and of those ninety-five arsenals over 90 were built during the past two years, containing new types of machinery, designed, installed and now in operation, producing guns, munitions and war supplies.

When the war broke out Great Britain had 1,600,000 men in her engineering and chemical trades. In the early days of the war the importance of retaining many of those men at home was not appreciated, and 384,000 men from the engineering and chemical trades enlisted and went to the front. Since then she has had to bring back 45,000 skilled men in the engineering trades to assist in the work at home. She had in those industries in 1914—in all kinds of industries that might be classed as war industries—1,986,000 workers. In August last she had over 3,500,000 workers in the war industries, of whom about 600,000 are women.

It is difficult for us to conceive of the size of many of these plants. I visited one with 90,000 workers, of whom 13,000 were women, and there are several other plants where the workers are counted by tens of thousands.

What has been the result of this effort? Mr. Montague, who was Minister of Munitions in August last, made a statement of the results while I was there, and I am quoting from his figures. Undoubtedly the production is much greater to-day.

By way of comparison, Mr. Montague took the output for the year ending the 30th of June, 1915—practically the first year of the war—as compared with the output for the year ending the 30th of June, 1916. In three weeks while I was there, they were producing as much 18-pounder ammunition as they had produced in the whole year ending July, 1915. They were producing as much field Howitzer ammunition in two weeks as they had produced in the whole of the previous year.

They were producing as much medium-sized shell ammunition in 11 days as they had produced in the whole of the previous year.

They were producing as many heavy shells in every four days of every week as they did in the whole year preceding the 1st of July, 1915.

Mr. Montague stated that in the bombardment in the week preceding the attack on the Somme, they consumed more light and medium ammunition than the total amount manufactured in Great Britain during the first 11 months of the war, while the heavy ammunition manufactured during the first 11 months of the war would not have kept the bombardment going for one day.

Great Britain has not nearly reached her maximum of production. Some of these new national factories were only getting into good working order when I was there. Many of them are capable of doubling their output, and Mr. Montague then stated that the ambition of the Ministry of Munitions and of the Government, of which he was a member, was to so increase the supply of munitions that along the whole front they would be able to keep up continuously as stiff a bombardment as they had kept up at the Somme.

If you lump all kinds of gun and howitzer ammunition together, they were manufacturing when I was in England, and issuing to France every week for the use of our armies at the Front, as much as their whole pre-war stock of land service ammunition when the war broke out.

THE PRODUCTION OF GUNS

I was in one ordnance plant where they were producing every two weeks as many eighteen-pounder guns as their total output for a year before the war; and that was one of the great ordnance plants of Great Britain; and that is only in one class of guns they are now producing. The ordnance plants are turning out in a month nearly twice as many big guns as were in existence for land service on 1st July, 1915. Take all the big guns for land service that Great Britain owned when the war broke out, add all produced during the first 11 months of the war, and Great Britain was turning out in August last every two weeks practically as many as the total thus obtained. The monthly output of heavy guns increased more than six-fold between June, 1915, and June, 1916, and according to Mr. Montague the then rate of output would eventually be nearly doubled.

Machine Guns—One of the most vital weapons for our troops, and one in which we found we were lacking at the outbreak of the war. The weekly output of machine guns has increased since July, 1915, fourteen-fold, and is still increasing; and they expect very shortly to have all the needs of the British army supplied, and then they will be able to devote all their energies to the production of machine guns for their allies.

Rifles—The most difficult of all arms to provide. Nearly three times as many new rifles were accepted during the year 1915-16 as in the previous year; Mr. Montague stated: "It was a matter of congratulation that the equipment of their whole army, both in machine guns and rifles, had been accomplished from home sources alone." I am sure it must be gratifying to us all that when our Ross rifle proved unsatisfactory as a service weapon for actual rough and tumble trench warfare, we were able to secure a supply of Lee Enfields from Great Britain.

Small Arms Ammunition—The production in Great Britain is now three times as much per week as a year ago. The production of high explosives was a matter of peculiar difficulty because, so far as Great Britain was concerned, they had not anticipated putting so large an army in the field, and they had not fully appreciated the part that high explosives would play, and it required not only the services of the best scientists and engineers of Great Britain to develop these high-explosive plants and secure a suitable product, but it required a very large expenditure of money to accomplish the work they are now doing in connection with high explosives.

The production of high explosives when I was there was sixty-six times as great as it was in the beginning of 1915. The weekly consumption was then between eleven thousand and twelve thousand times the amount required for land service ammunition manufactured in September, 1914.

In weapons for trench warfare the output of bombs increased thirty-three fold between May, 1915, and May, 1916.

You ask how did Great Britain accomplish this marvellous result? A great deal of credit must be given to Mr. Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions, and this, above all things, should be said about Mr. Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions: He had the strong common sense and the patriotism to call to his assistance the ablest business men and scientists in

Great Britain, and to ask their co-operation in dealing with this most difficult problem. While they had a General Staff for dealing with military affairs, Mr. Lloyd George established practically an industrial general staff for dealing with industrial war problems. I had an opportunity of meeting some of these business men, and I wish to say that some of the ablest business men of England are freely giving their whole time to this vital work, and devoting their best business energies to the accomplishment of these results. It could not have been done by any government department, no matter how ably presided over, and when a government, realizing its position, calls to its aid the ablest men in the land, irrespective of party conditions or party considerations, you see what magnificent results can be achieved.

To-day, Great Britain, in addition to making provision for herself, is turning over to France one-third of all the shell steel sheet she produces. She is turning over 20 per cent. of her machine tool production for the benefit of the Allies, and the production of machine tools is one of the most difficult problems to solve.

She is largely supplying France and Italy with coal. Ship after ship of His Majesty's transport is required for providing coal for her allies.

Great Britain is also producing guns and munitions for Russia. She is largely producing for Belgium. There is a factory in Great Britain manned by Belgians, the whole output of which goes to the Belgian army to maintain it in the field.

She made a most important contribution to re-fitting and re-arming the Serbian forces and we will not know until the war is over the exact amount of the assistance she has rendered to Italy. To accomplish all this in a little over two years and to have raised for her army and navy approximately 5,000,000 of men is, I venture to think, an achievement unparalleled in human history, and is convincing proof of the virility and courage of the British people.

TRANSPORTS

The question of transport alone is an enormous problem for any country in war time, but for Great Britain in this war it is one of unparalleled proportions. The fact that it was proposed to tear up some of our lines of railway to provide rails for the laying down of new railways for transport in France at once suggests to us the importance and urgency of one phase of the problem. In addition to the transport of troops from the Dominions, the transport of food, raw materials and munitions from the Dominions and neutral countries to Great Britain, all the troops of the Empire have to be transported to the various theatres of operation in Europe, Asia and Africa; and a constant and sufficient supply of food, munitions and all classes of war supplies maintained.

Let me give you one or two figures on the question of transport. More ammunition was transported to France in one week last summer than had been handled in 28 years before the war broke out including the South African war. They handled more ordnance stores in the first year of the war than in the 28 previous years.

They have to carry over material for the roads, for the trenches and for the parapets. Up to August last they had shipped over from England over 2,000,000 sandbags alone. Even in the early days of the war in one period of 5 days, they ran 1,500 special trains, all arranged for and organized under the direction of the chief officer in charge of transport. All this would not have been possible had they not taken over the whole railway system of Great Britain, and operated it as a unit.

ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE

The British Army Medical Service was organized on the basis of making provision for the limited standing army possessed by Great Britain. It is difficult for us to appreciate the magnitude of the undertaking involved in enlarging the Army Medical Service to meet the present conditions — creating numberless new hospital units, building new hospitals, organizing and training new staffs. The first section of the British Expeditionary Forces which took part in the Battle of Mons numbered, I believe, about 70,000 men. They now have almost this number in the Army Medical Service—doctors, nurses and helpers. The object of the Army Medical Service is two-fold : First, to keep the men physically fit ; second, to help restore them to health when incapacitated from disease or wounds. Its greatest triumph has been in preserving the health of the forces. You know the conditions prevailing at the front in the early stages of the war—the impossibility of burying the dead. If typhoid had prevailed in the British Army as it has in armies of modern times, we would have had 150,000 cases of typhoid on the western front. We only had 1,500 ; and while, of course, mistakes have been made in some phases of this enormous service, yet on the whole the development and work of the Army Medical Service has been one of Great Britain's great achievements.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The original financial war measures I will not stop to enumerate—I have heard financial men say were really a stroke of genius. It was a miracle how Great Britain was able to save the financial credit of the world in those early days. There again Lloyd George showed his wisdom and patriotism by calling to his assistance the ablest financial men, not disdaining the assistance of his political opponents, but consulting them from the start in connection with these matters.

It is no less a miracle how Britain has carried the financial burden of the war. Her annual expenditures before the war was, in round figures, £200,000,000. Her total expenditure during the first two years of the war was £2,700,000,000, and the estimated expenditure of the fiscal year ending the 31st of March, which, according to recent information, will be considerably exceeded, is £1,826,000,000 ; in fact, the expenditure for the fiscal year may be nearly £2,000,000,000.

How has Great Britain been able to make this gigantic expenditure ? She is raising far more money by taxation than any other nation at war. She is doing more to pay her own way than any other nation at war. She is the one nation which, by taxation, is really conscripting wealth and is requiring the wealth of the country to bear a very large share of the burden of the war.

Her income the year before the war was £200,000,000. In 1915-16, by reason of increased taxation, she raised £337,000,000 and her estimated income for 1916-17 is £502,000,000. Her whole revenue before the war was approximately £200,000,000 a year, and she is increasing her revenue by new taxation by 150 per cent.

One most important source of income is a profits tax. At first they took 50 per cent. of the profits made over a certain amount. They have now increased this tax to 60 per cent. and this, together with the income tax and the super-tax, makes 77 per cent. of the profits over a limited allowance on the basis of previous years' profits, which Great Britain is taking for the war. Many of the rich people who have large incomes are paying no less than 8s. and 6d. on the pound by way of taxes, and the general opinion is that while the super-tax which has been imposed purely for war purposes may be removed when the war is over, practically the whole of this taxation will remain. I may say that the former Chancellor of the Exchequer in his last Budget speech pointed out that these taxes would be continued. Notwithstanding this unprecedented taxation, one of the most gratifying features of the situation is that one finds comparatively little grumbling. The burden has been accepted cheerfully as part of the duty that wealth owes to the nation in this struggle. If it be true of England as it is of Canada—for I know with us 65 per cent. of the men who enlist are manual labourers—that the working men of England are going to save for the people of England their inheritance, then the people who own the inheritance must be prepared to make every sacrifice, and to contribute a large part of their fortunes. For myself I have never been able to understand why we in Canada should not bear a much larger share of our own war expenditures by taxation imposed now while the war is on. Let those who profit by the war make their full contribution to the cost of carrying on the war. Let us not permit our gallant sons, who are going to the front prepared to make the supreme sacrifice, be called upon to bear or help to bear a large part of the financial burden of the war when they return, if they do return.

The public debt of Great Britain at the outbreak of the war was £651,000,000. Notwithstanding the enormous sums raised by taxation in 1915-16, it had increased to £2,140,000,000. The estimated debt on the 31st of March next is £3,463,000,000. By the end of the third year of the war it will probably be in the neighbourhood of £4,000,000,000, with an annual interest charge of £200,000,000, a sum equal to the entire revenue of Great Britain when the war broke out.

The total advances by Great Britain to the Dominions and her allies, as estimated up to the 31st of March next, will be £818,000,000. Mr. Bonar Law has already stated that this estimate will be materially exceeded and these advances must continue and probably continue on an increasing scale. The war is now costing Great Britain over £5,000,000 per day. Great Britain must not only carry her own financial burdens and provide her own munitions to carry on this war, but it is currently believed that she is guaranteeing the purchases of her allies in neutral countries and that she is practically financing Serbia and Belgium. She is bearing a financial burden unparalleled in history, and is doing it without murmur or complaint. But for the financial obligations which she has assumed and the financial assistance which she has given her allies, this war would long since have ended in disaster. When one adds to the supreme work of the navy the invaluable service of her now great armies, her marvellous organization for the production of guns and munitions and her almost miraculous financial achievements, you have an expression of courage and capacity, of faith and noble patriotism unsurpassed in human records and for which every citizen of the Empire should thank God and take courage. Those who talk about the Old Land being effete and of her people having lost their vitality, should see what is going on in her factories and shipyards, her armies at the front, and her navy upon the high seas, in her banking houses, and in her merchant marine. But the war is not yet ended. Larger burdens must be assumed and greater sacrifices made ; and such is the courage and resolution of the people they will not permit politics or governments or officers in high places to stand in the way of the nation putting forth its whole effort. Everything must bend to the one supreme object—a just peace—which shall include restoration, reparation and satisfactory guarantees for the future, so that our humanity may turn away from war and bloodshed and once more devote its thought and attention to the pursuits of peace ; and in that new world Canada, if she is worthy, has a noble part to play.

In conclusion, let me repeat the statement made by Mr. Asquith, the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, to me :

"Great Britain could not have done this but for the help she received from the Dominions across the seas."

Our attitude towards the war awakened an enthusiastic response from the people of Great Britain. It put new energy into her arm, new strength and will into her determination when she realized that all her sons overseas were rallying to support their mother country in this great struggle, and considered no sacrifice too great if victory might be achieved. Let me again repeat what Mr. Asquith said :

"Great Britain could not have done this but for the help she received from the Dominions across the seas."

I may also mention that I met a distinguished Japanese naval officer who had been visiting all the allied countries for the purpose of studying the situation from the standpoint of his own Government, and he said : "The two outstanding features of this war up to date to my mind are, first, the marvellous spirit of France;

the way in which the men and women of France have, for the love of country and liberty, sacrificed everything that victory may be achieved. And the other great outstanding fact was this, the fact of the very spontaneous and hearty co-operation of the Dominions with the mother country in the participation in this war."

We, gentlemen, may be living too close to the events to appreciate to the full their mighty significance, but the men in the East, the men in the uttermost parts of the earth realize that it means something new in the world's history when Britain's sons over the seas in this hour of Armageddon say to the mother country and to the rest of the world : "When the hour of danger threatens we stand together."

That is one of the great, moving, appealing, outstanding facts of this war; and humanity has notice to-day that in a struggle for justice, for righteousness, for human liberty, for free democratic institutions, now and forever, one and inseparable, Britain and her sons across the seas "stand together."

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

FACING THE FACTS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

AN ADDRESS BY REV. MAJOR C. W. GORDON, D.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
January 25, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have so much to say, and so little time in which to say it, that I shall give but one moment to what is at once a duty and a pleasure: to express my profound sense of honour and privilege I have to-day in addressing this Empire Club; composed as it is of so distinguished and representative a body of citizens of this premier city of Canada, and representing also those ideals of Empire and nationhood that are to-day uppermost in the minds of all the citizens of the Empire. It is, indeed, a great honour and a great privilege and I receive it, not for myself alone, but for those for whom it is my privilege to speak to-day, my comrades in the trenches; and they are worthy of all the honour we can bestow upon them.

I count it especially an honour to speak on the subject I have chosen for two reasons, firstly, because in these days which we are passing in a kind of rest-camp in so far as the big war is concerned, they are still fighting. Wherever you have Britishers looking into the eyes of their foes they never quit fighting; and the Canadians at this moment are either planning a new raid in their dug-outs, or carrying out a raid with their bayonets in their hands—but the big war has come to a little pause, and during that pause there are thoughts of the fluttering of the white flag, and of the hovering of the dove of peace.

Shall we consider seriously the question of making peace, or shall we abandon all thought of peace; and, drawing in the belt a little tighter, proceed to a more vigorous and more bitter and more relentless fight? Well, gentlemen, there is no way of fighting gently or easily; the only way to fight is to fight with all your might, with the utmost ferocity and the utmost violence. So that we have to consider whether the time has come when we might suggest a pause for a conference, or whether we must abandon all ideas of conference or suggestions of peace, and give ourselves heart and soul and body to a more vigorous and more relentless prosecution of the war.

Now, that question, "Shall we quit?" has an ugly sound, but let us not be deterred from its consideration. "Shall we quit?" is a perfectly reasonable question for all loyal sons of the Empire to ask. I do not for a moment believe that those who think that the Empire and the Allies must get everything they want, and have set down in their terms, will escape disappointment. We will never get them. But the question still remains to be answered: Is this the time to talk about quitting? I confess frankly that I look at this from the point of view first of all and always of the man who is doing the fighting. I have a vision at this moment of a dug-out on the lines where our Canadians are, down there safe and deep in the ground, a dug-out built by the Germans, and subsequently occupied by the French, and now taken over by the Canadians. I see my Commanding Officer and his Adjutant in that dungeon-like place with bottles on the table—and with candles stuck in the tops—and let me tell you right now, gentlemen, there is no whiskey in this war. You cannot win a war with whiskey. I believe there is a place for the rum ration. I treat the rum ration as I treat morphia; and where the stretcher-bearer finds a man suffering in the front line he does not hesitate to give him a dose of morphia. Similarly, when our men come in from the morning watch nerve-shaken and chilled to the bone, as they often are, and they must get asleep in five minutes, it is necessary that they should receive a shot of medicine which happens to be called rum.

And the man who criticizes an officer or a soldier for that is a man who does not understand the situation. However, that is a little off my point. I see my Commanding Officer and his Adjutant with the bottles on the table and the candles stuck in their tops, with a map before them. What are they doing ? Planning for a raid next week, maybe, and just then the paper comes in and they say "What is this ?" and "this" is a statement to the effect that in Canada recruiting is dead. The war movement is checked. I see them look at each other ; I feel the drop of the temperature ; I feel the paralyzing chill at their hearts as they ask each other, "What does this mean ? Have they forgotten us out here ? Have we made a fearful mistake ? Are we fools that we came at all ? Or has Canada got 'cold feet' ?" I see the boys out in the front line. There are very few of them in the "Bay," for where there ought to have been a thousand men in the front line, only 250 with five officers were there, so thin had our ranks become. I see these men holding the thin brown line, and they talk to each other of the papers they have received, telling them that Canada is pausing or hesitating in the matter of recruiting. I feel in my soul to-day the chill of it and I say this, gentlemen : until the war is stopped by authority, let no Canadian talk about quitting.

Now we have had our newspapers filled in these days with suggestions that have come across the line from the President of the United States. There is no use dismissing those suggestions with simply a curse or a blessing. They cannot be dismissed in that way. The President of the United States is a great man and occupies a great place in the world representing, as he does, one of the greatest nations in that world, and it is simply folly to think we can dismiss his suggestions with a wave of the hand. When the time for discussing the terms of settlement arrives, one of the men sitting at that Board will be the President of the United States or a man who represents him, and he will have a right to be there, and no power can keep him from being there. We might as well take it now as then.

We must reckon with the United States, the most impressive neutral nation in the war to-day. Let us face the thing and see if we can find out what he proposes. There are many things in which we agree with the President of the United States, as you will realize if you read over that manifesto. You will see that the President lays down in clause after clause the very things the Allies have declared they are going to fight for until they win them. Read it again and you will see, as I have said, that clause after clause states our own opinions, and we welcome gladly and thankfully these utterances of our case on the part of the President of the United States. But at one point we differ. The suggestion is made there that a peace without victory is the only peace possible. "A peace without victory"? Our claim is that a peace without victory is an impossibility, an absolute impossibility, because a peace without victory is insecure. Remember, we in Great Britain, and in the rest of the Empire, have no foolish notions about military glory. We have glory, and military glory, that will never, never fade while the names of Canada and Great Britain shall last. We have all the glory we want; all we need to carry our names down through the sounding ages to eternity; but it is not worth while fighting for an additional day for more glory. Nor do we fight for revenge. I do not even think France wants to fight another day in revenge for the great outrage wrought upon her by Germany some 40 years ago. But, gentlemen, we must look facts in the face. We cannot disregard the great, outstanding, stupendous fact of the injuries done to unoffending small nations. You may forget Belgium but you cannot change its face to-day. You may talk or argue about it, but all the while her fields lie ruined and will lie ruined for a generation. Her little homesteads are desolated and empty of women and of children, many of whom have been outraged and slain. I have talked to them and know the truth of what I say. And although many of the tales which have been circulated may be untrue, there is no tale of outrage, however horrible, that has not been paralleled in actual fact. Those outrages lie heavily on the towns and cities of that country and on all the hearts of that noble people, and that fact has to be dealt with by any group of men assembled for the purpose of discussing the terms of peace. *Reparation* is the first thing which must be accomplished before we can even think of peace. How God can remain God to us if we do not believe in justice, I cannot see. The conviction that has been hammered into the souls of the Allies, driven by shot and shell and a million bayonet points into the heart of Great Britain is this, that unless there be victory there can never be security. Shall I argue that with you ? Is it necessary to do so ? You know right well, that unless the German Kaiser and that crowd and princely, insolent class from Prussia which surrounds him—never was there a class of men more insolent—unless he and his satellites have a change of heart we cannot talk peace with them. Unless we have a sincere conviction, well established and securely founded, that the man no longer cherishes in his heart a hope of world dominion, we cannot discuss the terms of peace. And, further, unless we have some definite and distinct proof that the Kaiser and his fighting men have given up their confidence in militarism as an empire-building power, we cannot talk peace with them. We must have from them some definite evidence, first, that they no longer cherish the pan-German dream of world-empire over-riding all rights of nations. Could we but obtain some definite proof of such change of heart we would be willing to talk peace right away; and oh, how gladly, for we loathe this war, those men on the front line trenches loathe it, loathe it with all their hearts and souls. We are not warriors. We are home-loving citizens who want to get home; but first we are men of honour and men of sense, and honour demands and sense compels us to stay at our posts until our work is done: until victory is achieved, until peace is secure.

The other day there was published in an American magazine an article by a distinguished German scientist who has been appointed by the German Government to the head of the Department created for the purpose of mobilizing all the industries of Germany. You will realize how big a man he must be in order to be able to fill such a post to the satisfaction of the German Emperor. His name is Dr. Walter Rathenau. I am about to quote what he has written, gentlemen, at the same time that the German Kaiser was talking peace and the President of the United States was suggesting terms of peace, and including in those suggestions a peace without victory.

"No lasting peace appears, whatever may be the official views of the Government, to enter into the calculations of some of the captains of industry in Germany, at least if the views of Dr. Walter Rathenau are typical. As the head of one of the greatest electrical industries in the world, the Allgemeine Electricitats Gesellschaft, popularly known as the "A.E.G." Dr. Rathenau occupies high rank among the commercial magnates of the Fatherland, while his genius for organization is such that, since the war began, the task of mobilizing industry has been committed to his charge by the Government. Under these circumstances, Dr. Rathenau's utterances acquire special significance, and it is somewhat of a shock to find an article from his pen in the Berlin Lokal Anzeiger, in which he discusses the need of industrial preparation for a future war, which he apparently regards as inevitable. He says :

"We began the war a year too soon. When we have secured a German peace we must begin at once a reorganization upon a broader and firmer basis than ever before. Establishments that produce raw materials essential to the Army must not only continue their work, but enter into it upon lines of increased energy, forming thus the kernel of economic Germany, in preparing in the economic sense for the next war. We must carefully calculate in advance in view of lessons learned in this war, what our country lacks in raw material or essentials of raw material, and secure immense reserve to remain unused until a day in the future. We must organize as genuine an industrial mobilization as we had a military mobilization. Every technician or semi-technician, enrolled or not in the list of mobilized, must be empowered through official credentials to take charge and direction of a given establishment upon the second day following a new declaration of war. Every establishment manufacturing for commercial purposes must be mobilized, and understand officially that upon the third day after declaration of war its entire abilities are to be devoted to serving the army upon demand.

"It must also be determined in advance just what quantities and sort of essentials such establishment can furnish the army in a given time. Each establishment also should be required to furnish a detailed list of workmen who can be dispensed with, these alone to be mobilized in the military sense."

"While preparations must be made at home, Dr. Rathenau would have the diplomats of the Fatherland busy abroad in order that some of the experiences of this war may be obviated in the future. He writes :

"'We must finally establish some definite commercial understanding with nations outside Europe that will offer them advantages to be duly specified in detail, whereby these nations, as neutrals, will find it to their direct disadvantage commercially to trade or sell munitions during war to either ourselves or our enemies. We can afford to offer such conditions ourselves. And finally, when the next war comes, it must not be a year too soon.'

"These frank utterances from one of the leading capitalists of Germany have produced in France a marked re-action against peace, and we find that brilliant French author and academician, Mr. René Bazin, using Dr. Rathenau's article as a text for an impassioned appeal to the United States not to insist too strongly on peace proposals at the present time. Mr. Bazin writes :

"'Here, in a nut-shell, is what allied Europe has long understood, and what has not been truly understood in the United States save by a relative few.

" 'It is the reason why the war would be continued for ten years if necessary by France, England and their allies. It is the reason why nothing short of the *knockout* will serve. It is the reason why any talk or effort for peace would be ill received, even if backed by the best of motives and official sanction from the greatest of neutrals or the smallest, or all the neutrals collectively.

" 'The war-cloud that hung over Europe for 30 years prior to August, 1914, must be dispersed finally and forever. The intolerable conditions prevailing must be finally made impossible of repetition. The horrors and miseries, the suffering and privation, the whole gamut of evil that no single individual can understand through reading the writing of another, that must be seen, felt, experienced through the senses to be grasped even in the least sense, must never again be a worldly portion.

" 'This will only be possible through making war against war till a humane peace is the reward. It would be as impossible under a German peace as would a railway journey to Mars.' "

This article indicates that this man who stands for the Kaiser and all Germany to-day has in his heart a determined conviction that whatever may come to us in the way of peace as the result of this war, it will only be for the purpose of allowing Germany to make a larger and surer preparation for a war in which Germany will be relieved of her present disabilities, and in which she will profit by her present mistakes. It means, gentlemen, according to Dr. Rathenau, that peace to-day is a most useful thing, not that the anguish of war may be assuaged, but that Germany may prepare more effectively to do what she has failed to do in this war. Peace with him is but postponed war.

And that is why it is impossible for us to accept the suggestions recently made by the President of the United States. I have this feeling about it that the illumination which this war throws upon these great and deep and fundamental and holy principles that lie at the foundation of a stable civilization can only be appreciated by those who have waded through these rivers of blood from life into death. Only those who have borne the iron in their souls have seen clearly or can see clearly just what are these great issues at stake. At least, they see more clearly. You see them, of course, but I tell you it does give me a new passion for simple righteousness and simple honour, since I have seen these men at the front. These things are a new world to me, God is a new world to me, a much more precious world, a more worthy world; because I have seen Him so often by the side of my comrades when they sorely needed Him. These things, these revelations, these illuminations come with the flooding of the sky with the red shells of war.

Let me pursue that a little further. I have read this extract to you and you are with me in knowing that it is no mere fancy of ours that Germany dreams of a second war. What then ? If we cannot convince ourselves that Germany's heart has been changed, then the only thing for us to do is to say : If the heart of Germany is still set on war, then we must break the sword in her hand until no matter how much she may dream of war and no matter how firmly her faith may be fixed in the blood-shed of militarism, she will not have the power to give effect to her dream.

And when we see Germany, unchanged in heart though she be, stand before us with the sword broken in her hand, then we will feel safe in talking peace, but not until then.

Now, if we cannot make peace—I would to God we could do so—what are we to do ? Just before I ask that question I will take a little time to rub in a point on my last head : Supposing an inconclusive peace is made with Germany still governed by a War Lord—mark that point—and Germany still set on world conquest, what takes place ? At once Germany reorganizes her arms and her industries for war, France follows her example and Great Britain does the same—Great Britain has learned her lesson. What about Canada ? What will we be doing ? Shall we be reaping our wheat fields and attending to our business ?

Partly, but every one of us will be engaged in the business of preparing for war. The United States of America has shown us that no people on the earth can keep out of a war on the European continent under such conditions. That means that Canada must stagger under the gigantic burden of building navies and armies for the next century if this is an inconclusive peace. I need not rub that in. No other safeguard can be employed. We cannot get out of the world and if the world is going to be a fighting world, Canadians are going to be in it. Not because they love fighting only, but because they love living, and they are bound to live.

A VOICE : They love liberty.

MAJOR GORDON : They also love liberty.

What are we to do ? We are resolved that at the present time we cannot talk peace. Nor must we talk war, we must make war. Wherever I go throughout Canada—I have not been very long with you since my return from the front—I find men are determined that war should be made. They are all keen that the war should be pushed to the last ditch, and yet, somehow, Canada is pausing in the business of making war. How do I know that ? It is true they have not quit making munitions. It is true that Canada is enthusiastic in regard to the manufacture of the paraphernalia of war ; all that is true. But the simple fact is that Canada is not any longer recruiting in large numbers men who are ready to fight. And, gentlemen, without depreciating all those other activities which are so necessary, I want to say that though our mines are being operated to their utmost capacity; though the wheat may be growing on our lands and harvested successfully; though business be flourishing; it is all futile in shortening the length of the war unless we have helping us in the fighting line men who can fight. What, I ask you, is the use of a headless spear ? No matter how fine that haft may be, no matter how evenly balanced, what is the use of it if it is not tempered so that we can drive straight into the hearts of our foes. Therefore we must make war. How shall we do so, I do not know. Thank God it is not my business to tell you. That is the duty of all Canadians, Canadians right here, you men in this room. But, gentlemen, remember this, that neither your country nor following history, nor your God above will absolve you from your responsibility if you see it is your duty to make war and you do not do so, and do so with all your might. Every man has to settle this thing finally with his country, with succeeding history, and above all, with his omnipresent God. If it is right for you to keep your men on the front line, then it is right for you to see that that line is kept strong. I find everywhere a great determination to make the war go; yet somehow, unvocal, men talk about it everywhere, in the streets and the clubs and the railways. Somehow, I do not know why there is no great voice calling, "This is the way boys, come on !" Well do I remember that dreadful night on which my battalion, among other battalions, made that terrific charge to the Regina Trench and came on that unbroken wire. And I remember an officer telling me that as the flares went up he saw his men lined along that wire seeking to find a passage through into the trench beyond, never thinking of coming back—it never occurred to them to come back—and at last a sergeant, a tall Highlander, was seen in the flash of the flare-light waving his hand and shouting, "This way, boys, this way !" and the next time the flare appeared he was not seen, but thank God his last words were, "This way, boys, this way !" Oh, for some Canadian in Canada to stand in some conspicuous place, and wave his hand in this noble Dominion of loyal hearts, and say to all men who desire to fight for liberty and justice, say to them all, "This is the way, boys, this is the way, come !" His name would live forever.

What do we want ? Among other things we want united, steady, resolute leadership. Nothing soft, nothing slack, no disunion. All parties must be represented in that leadership, all classes, all there are in Canada must find expression and adequate expression in that leadership. It is not my business to tell you how to get that. That is your business. It is your business.

Secondly, this :—it is wonderful how they did this in Great Britain. They are a great people. Aye, those old British stocks are wonderful. Look at the way they handled this question of leadership. On the 20th April, Mr. Asquith, leading a Liberal Government, rose in Newcastle-on-Tyne and said something like this : That it had been rumoured that our soldiers were not sufficiently supplied with guns and ammunition. That rumour, he said, was utterly incorrect. The next day began the battle of Ypres and lasted 22 days, demonstrating that we were shamefully and terribly lacking in guns and shells, but, thank God, not in courage to back up our faith. Canadians had no lack, because it was there in the second battle of Ypres that Canadian soldiers won for us and for Canada, down through the ages to eternity, undying glory. Following that, Mr. Asquith called his Government together and asked them for resignations. Every man frankly and without question gave in his resignation and said, "I am willing to serve inside or outside." That is the way for politicians to talk, is it not ? Is there any other way for a Canadian politician to talk ? I believe our politicians are that kind of men. Mr. Asquith then went to the leader of the Unionist Party and said, "Here is a place for some of your best men," and they got the best men and formed a coalition Government. The Minister of Munitions was appointed and did great work. It came to a time not long ago, after ten months of magnificent achievement when there was still a growing feeling of discontent and anxiety; a loyal suspicion of fear, not fear of themselves or their soldiers, but of the fortunes of war, among the people. I do not suppose many of you know how terribly near we were to being "dished" by the almost omnipotent power of German strategy and German gold with one of our allies. That danger is over, thank God, and I believe it is over for ever, and its menace was removed by the resolution and determination and loyalty of the common people, not the bureaucrats, of England. What happened ? A little later on, following that, this feeling of insecurity and hesitation became so pronounced that Mr. Asquith once more called his cabinet together. They talked it over. There was a week or two of very deep and painful discussion, and then one of the finest things happened that ever occurred in English political history : Mr. Asquith gave in his resignation ; he stepped out. He felt that the time had come when he was not desired (an awful hour for any man who has done great things for his country), and he stepped out like a true Englishman and Britisher, and on the very next day extended to Mr. Lloyd George his assurance that he would give him his unqualified support in everything he would try to do. I cannot believe and will not believe that Canadian statesmen have less at heart the interests of their country, or are less capable of such splendid self-sacrifice.

Unity in the following : I believe unity in leadership will secure unity in the following. I believe men are no longer thinking as conservatives or liberals or labour people ; they are thinking nationally. No people ever existed who were so tenacious of their rights as the labour people of England, and nothing is finer in the history of this great struggle than the splendid sacrifices made in England by the labour people for the great cause: and when that great story is written, side by side with other glorious achievements will be portrayed the sacrifice, the holding of principles in abeyance, the setting aside of all prejudices, the giving up of all hard earnings, winnings won with blood, these all given up and laid on the altar of service to their country. For instance, when Mr. Asquith asked for the mobilization of industry, he had to meet with all sorts of labour regulations. There were talks of strikes here and campaigns there, but like the man he was he went down and discussed things openly with them and told them what he must have; and to their eternal glory these labour men said, "If this is the only way, we will take it and be with you."

Then the women came into the work in large numbers, yet still there were not shells enough, and on the 20th December, 1915, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George rose in the House and said that unless the speed of the manufacture of munitions could be accelerated, we would see our cause, for which so much blood has been spent, sink into damnation; and so he went to the labour people again and asked them if they would agree to accept the principle of dilution of labour. If there is a labour man present in this room he will realize the magnitude of this request, for he will know how terrible have been the battles in the maintenance of that very principle, that there shall be no dilution of skilled with unskilled labour. But at Mr. Lloyd George's request, the leaders of the labour party said to him, "We will try it," and to-day there are 400,000, possibly 450,000 women working in co-operation with these skilled workers of labour, and in this way the production of shells has increased in many cases one hundred fold, and in some cases one thousand fold. And so, in places I have visited, where one year ago there was neither stick nor stone, one now sees a town about nine miles long and two or three miles wide sheltering 11,000 people and producing more cordite in one week than all the world produced in one year previous to the war, and this wonderful achievement was only made possible by the labour people loyally accepting the principle of dilution of labour. And do you think now labour men in Canada are going to show themselves less noble or less ready to sacrifice their dearly cherished principles than their fellow Britishers across the seas ? I do not believe it ! But, gentlemen, you must treat them fairly, then you will see how splendid will be their response.

Somebody said, "Don't talk about Quebec." Why not ? Is Quebec part of Canada or not ? Has she any right to be in this country or not ? Who was here first ? Why not talk generously and loyally about Quebec and give them credit for being loyal like ourselves. The men in the front line talk about Quebec and in terms of admiration of those of their citizens they have seen at the Front; and among the deeds of shining glory to be recorded throughout the coming years will be the achievements of the gallant 22nd Battalion of French Canadians, and one of the great things I desire for the war's sake, for the Empire's sake, more still for Canadians' sakes is that some means be discovered by which Quebec will see her way warmly, enthusiastically and splendidly to come into this war, and do as the other provinces are going to do, their duty. And why not ? Why should it not be that Quebec should not do this ? "I know, I know," somebody is whispering under his breath, "there's the Church." But while we talk about things in whispers, we will never get any common sense and generosity intermingled with our thinking. Let us talk openly about our church. I would like to tell you something about the priests of that great Roman Catholic Church. I have learned a few things about them and I have also learned that it does not matter very much what kind of a vessel it is—gold, silver, pewter, or clay—that holds the water to the dying soldier's lips, I thank God for the water, and care not for the vessel.

I have too often asked my fellow labourer in the chaplains' ranks—and they are a great bunch of men and have a right to stand beside any officer in the line for courage, endurance and sacrifice—I have asked over and over again my Roman Catholic fellow workers to administer for me the rites to Presbyterians, Methodists and others. They have buried my dead and I have buried theirs. They have administered consolation to my dying, and I to theirs. I shall never forget a moment when one of our dear Canadian boys was soon to cross the Great Divide, and I asked him if he would like me to pray with him—I tell you, gentlemen, those boys believe in God and in prayer—I said, "Would you like me to pray with you ?" And he said, "Yes." And then he said, "But I am not of your religion ?" I said, "What are you, R.C.?" And upon receiving his reply in the affirmative, I said, "That does not matter," and I looked around the dug-outs there to see if I could find a cross—you know what the cross means to a man of that faith—I wish it meant as much to us—that is the one unkind thing the Reformers did, they took from our hands the free use of the Cross. I looked around, but could not find the Cross. I went out to a bush growing by and cut two bits of sticks and tied them together with a piece of sand-bag twine and held it to the man's face. He was far gone by this time, but as he saw this symbol held before him, his eyes lighted up and he exclaimed, "I see it, I see it !" and then his lips moved and I knew what he wanted and laid the Cross upon his lips, and he kissed it and was at peace. A Roman Catholic and a Presbyterian minister....

Let no Canadian say that we have not with us in this war to the very last ounce the support of our brethren of the Roman Catholic Church. Race differences ! Language difference ! Why, down a few miles or so from where we are situated on the Front the most glorious and splendid deeds in this war are being performed every day by the men who speak the same language as our French fellow Canadians. And I believe that the same chivalrous blood, the same heroic soul, is the endowment to-day of the French men of Canada as of the French men of glorious old France. Listen to no man who tells you that Quebec cannot be swung into line, for it is all the sheerest madness and wickedness, and we cannot finish this war as it ought to be finished unless Quebec is with us heart and soul, and it is the business of any Government to see that Quebec, by some means or by any means—and there are plenty of means—will be brought into a position where she will feel it to be her duty and privilege and honour to fight side by side with the rest of us, for what we are fighting. And it can be done ! I have had the honour to speak to some great men in this country; and I have proposed a scheme which we have talked over in the front lines, and the suggestion was made by those who had formerly despaired of this ever being accomplished.

I close with this : First of all, we must fight. Our security, if nothing else, demands that we shall fight until the German sword is broken. In order to fight our best, we must get Canada united, all parties, all classes, all races, all creeds.

Then we must give visibility to this union. It must be done in such a way that all Canada will be able to see it; and when all Canada sees it clearly they will see it across the seas, our fellow labourers of the Empire from Australia will catch this sight of a new united Canada, sending us new and vigorous forces over the horizon with a promise of more to follow; and as they see it away down there in the southern hemisphere, they, too, will swing into line with new forces, new vigour and new determination: and as our foes see it, as they realize that in the hearts of all men who dwell across the seas, there burns an invincible determination to fight this out until the German military heart is broken and destroyed, much will be done to destroy the confidence of the German nation and its allies in that evil thing that has so long cursed the world—militarism.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

THE WAR MOBILIZATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

AN ADDRESS BY W. A. WILLISON, ESQ.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
February 1, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—You have said so many generous things about me, Sir, that I am afraid I am very much confused. As a matter of fact, while I appreciate very greatly the privilege that has been extended to me of addressing the Empire Club, I am literally scared to death. I do not pretend to speak with authority on the war mobilization of Great Britain. The censor is a very determined censor, and official secrets are exceedingly well kept, but we cannot stay two and a half years in London without learning something.

In England there is generous praise of the Canadians. In Canada, it seems to me that we hear too much of British blunders and British slowness. I wonder if the magnitude of British achievements is fully appreciated. No nation of ancient or modern times has equalled her war record. She has done colossal things. They told us before the war that she was grey and tired and old. One frequently heard the claim that the wings of the Empire were strong, but the centre was weak. We were given to understand that the Island race was wanting a little in application, in initiative and in ability. Gentlemen, I do not know how much of that criticism remains, but if there are any still who suffer under such delusions, let them study the war history of Great Britain. Let them visit the Grand Fleet and the Cruiser Squadron. Let them see the army on the Somme and in the blood-stained salient of Ypres. Let them go to the Clyde and Tyneside, to Barrow-in-Furness, to Vickers and Armstrongs and the other great shipbuilding, armament and munition establishments of the United Kingdom. Let them do these things and they will return marvelling and thanking God that Britain is the Mother of Empire.

Two and a half years ago, Mr. Chairman, I went to London as the representative of my paper. I found the whole nation straining to expedite its war mobilization. "Old and effete" Britain was in its shirt sleeves in the public parks, creating volunteer battalions at a rate undreamed of in history. In the great parks of London—Hyde Park, Regent's Park, St. James's Park—men marched and counter-marched all day long, and were steadily and expertly cursed by old and experienced sergeants for the benefit of their warlike souls, and the greater glory of the Empire. Those men were the first of Kitchener's armies. It was a privilege to be in London then. Mr. Lloyd George, seldom unhappy in his eloquence, employed the phrase "Through Terror to Triumph," in writing of the war recovery of the country from the conditions of that early period. There was no terror. Rather, the London—and so the England—of the war months of 1914 was a London of great spirit and high courage, a London whose heart and soul and mind were concentrated on the mighty and imperative work to be done. It was a proud city—a city that typified a nation and a past, and saw in vital challenge only the more urgent necessity for aggressive measures. London personified the spirit of the race.

And Glasgow looked down upon London with an easy, if unexpressed, assumption of superiority and raced for a higher enlistment. Little Wales created its own Guards. Ireland—within a few hours of civil war—turned from civil strife to maintain its regiments of old and glorious tradition. In thousands upon thousands, men surged to the Colours. Companies gave place to battalions, battalions to divisions, divisions to armies. The world was witnessing the greatest voluntary response to public duty in the history of all time, a response which thrilled our friends as it dumfounded our enemies.

In the winter of 1914, one of the best informed men in London made an estimate for me of the probable military strength of Great Britain. After a study of census returns, he said: "There are roughly 8,000,000 men of military age, 25 per cent. will be required in essential industries, another 25 per cent. will be physically unfit, Britain should raise and equip 4,000,000 men." Mr. Chairman, practically that whole force was raised under the voluntary system. Such an achievement is without parallel. There is a legend of one who sowed dragons' teeth and armed men sprang up from the ground, ready equipped. These men did not spring from the ground. They were not ready equipped. A nation strained, and a man called and worked with a mighty brain, and other men followed until Derby's armies succeeded Kitchener's and conscription finally closed the net on the few who remained. To-day, over 5,000,000 men have enlisted in Great Britain. Five million men—legion upon legion—a giant host, the equivalent under an infantry calculation of 4,250 battalions—five battalions a day for every day of the war—practically 6,000 men a day for 840 days. Failure? Blunder? Slowness? It is colossal. And Britain is only reaching the height of her military power. She wants 62 more divisions on the firing line. For two years and a half she has marched from strength to strength. She is still marching.

And as she has marched the British Navy has protected her. It rides the seas to-day as it has since Drake smashed the Armada—invincible—the supreme arbiter in human affairs. Let us not forget this in over-anxiety about submarine campaigns or in undue emphasis upon channel raids. A thousand years of strain, a thousand years of thought, a thousand years of challenge found Britain facing the war with the most perfect fighting machine of all time. That was 30 months ago. Gentlemen, never since Britain trusted the future of her peoples and the destiny of her Empire to aggressive steel on the waters has her fleet been so great, so powerful as it is to-day. It is the Central Empires who are under siege. It is the German navy that is blocked in Kiel. It is German commerce that is destroyed. It is Germany that has lost her colonies. No foreign forces have landed on English soil. Not that such a landing would be a matter of real concern. It is conceivable that the enemy might succeed in crossing the channel. He might land 50,000 or 100,000 men. To do so would be to murder every man for a political effect, which would be of no value outside of his own country. Britain is prepared for any such extreme measure—and has long been prepared. But there have been no such landings. If they were ever to have had real value, they must have been carried out in the early months of the war. To-day, only desperation would even suggest the attempt.

Much stress is laid upon German naval construction behind Kiel, and upon the great submarines threatening the high seas. The history of British shipbuilding yards has yet to be written. But this we know—there was British naval activity before the war, but never such activity as to-day. Tremendous things are being done. When the war broke out, the necessity for the construction of a gigantic naval repair base was imperative. Contractors, declaring it impossible to complete the Admiralty plans before the fall of 1917, completed them by July, 1916, and huge dry-docks, wharves and workshops stand now where the sea held dominion in August, 1914. Germany has not been able to keep pace with the output of British yards. Submarines, torpedo-boats, light cruisers, battle cruisers, dreadnaughts, super-dreadnaughts—these are their products. The submarine of to-day is not the submarine of yesterday. The cruiser and the dreadnaught are changed in type. Turrets hide secrets of great guns. Mystery shrouds all—the mystery of the mystery ships. For generations nations have sought to combine armour, armament and speed. They have had armour and armament. They have combined armament and speed. The nation that combines the three will revolutionize naval warfare. The censor would permit me to go no further than to mention mystery ships in my reports on a visit to the Fleet with an Imperial press party. He will permit me to say nothing more to-day. But remember that Britain leads the naval world and is never content. Do you know Kipling's "Mary Gloucester" and the old owner of many freighters, dying ? Many and bitter rivals he had. But, Dickie, he told his son :

> "They copied all they could follow, but they couldn't copy my mind !
> And I left 'em sweating and stealing, a year and a half behind."

So it is to-day with the minds of the Admiralty and the naval genius of a people.

What of British labour ? Do not judge it by the extremists of the Clyde or of South Wales, and even if you are tempted to do so, remember that capital, too, is a partner to strikes. Gentlemen, industrial Britain has submitted to industrial revolution. The British working man is the backbone of the army, the backbone of the navy, the foundation of the nation and of Empire. He bears the brunt of this struggle. He has repudiated international socialism. He has consented to the abrogation of privileges for which he fought and suffered during years of industrial strife with capital. He has submitted to conscription and quietly obeyed the will of the nation. He has consented to the dilution of labour. Before the war it was unthinkable that the working man of Britain would submit to the competition of women, as unthinkable as that he would accept universal military service. He has never faltered. When strikers in South Wales were being bitterly condemned in the early months of the war, the miners of Durham and Northumberland were recruiting one in ten. So many went that they had to be brought back from France. So it was in other trades. Too many—many too many—expert men enlisted. South Wales was almost a thing accursed—for a time. Then came an extraordinary bye-election—Merthyr Tydvil. The Government candidate had the united support of the great political parties. In addition, he was backed by official labour, the Independent Labour Party and the Union of Democratic Control. Every extremist and fanatical element in the country was behind him. His opponent had nothing but one plank—more vigorous prosecution of the war. He won. He won in South Wales. He won because he represented the true spirit of labour, the labour that to-day has promised support to a new Government pledged to introduce still more revolutionary measures. We can thank God for the working man of Britain, as we do for British armies and the British navy.

Do you know what this industrial revolution has meant ? Six months ago I visited the great industrial and munition centres of the United Kingdom. In one room of one large works I saw a brigade and a half of 5-inch 60 pounders. Another firm was turning out five 6-inch howitzers a week, and six 18-pounder field guns. A score of anti-aircraft guns were to be found in another chamber. In giant foundries all manner of guns were in course of construction from great 15, 13.5 and 12-inch naval guns and giant howitzers superior to anything yet produced in Britain, to small 4-inch and mountain guns. One firm had an entire factory devoted to howitzer production. That was six months ago. What is being done to-day ? The artillery output of these shops is guarded with every precaution. We do not know what it is. But there was a time on the Western front when the enemy dominated us in weight of artillery. He does not do so to-day. And British shops have supplied Russia, Serbia and other Allies, as well as filling British needs. Also—there are mystery guns as well as mystery ships.

So with shells. Millions and millions and millions of shells are produced to-day. It is said that the munitions output in 24 hours is as great as it was in a year when the war broke out. There are controlled establishments all over England where 30 months ago there was nothing but waste land. At ———, for instance, in eleven months a great field was transformed into a great factory employing 6,000 hands, 60 per cent. women. In the initial six months of operation that factory turned out 100,000 shells. Its output has steadily risen. In the first year of the war British troops, and later, Canadian infantry sat for hours in their trenches under persistent enemy bombardments while our guns were almost silent—perhaps the most trying of all war ordeals. When I visited the salient and the Somme six months ago, our artillery was firing one, two and often three and four shells to the enemy's one. This year German forces on the Western front will be subjected to an intensity of shelling which will surpass anything in the history of the war, and which will exceed what human imagination thought possible 30 months ago.

Political changes have been as great as industrial changes. It is very difficult to determine the value of coalitions. It is almost impossible to say how much of genius there was in the Asquith policy of compromise and conciliation. We know that the original Liberal Government of 1914 was not a war government. In its ranks were represented the fanatics and extremists, the pacifists and the unworldly idealists, who were responsible for the nation's failure in preparedness, and the nation's ignorance of the terrible menace which had threatened the existence of the British Empire for years. That is a fact. It is equally a fact that the British Navy was ready and efficient, and that the first British Expeditionary Force was the best trained and best equipped army that ever left British shores. It is finally a fact that pledges to the Allies were kept. But the people had no confidence in the Government. Lord Kitchener was the great figure of that time. Men trusted him. Many believe that his word would have upset governments, and his spoken desire have introduced conscription months before it was finally adopted. Whatever the truth, whatever the value of compromise and conciliation, whatever the genius of Mr. Asquith for maintaining harmonious relations between men of different temper and different thought, the Liberal Government did not lead, and the people forced it to accept coalition. The services of coalition were very great. The Munitions Ministry was established. There was decentralization at the War Office.

National Registration was carried through. Labour dilution was adopted. Conscription was introduced. The blockade was tightened. These are tremendous facts. But coalition, too, waited upon the people. Leadership was largely supplied by the "Forward" press—*The Times*, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Evening News*, *The Saturday Review*, and other members of the progressive group. First of all these papers I would put *The Times*. It anticipated the future, instructed the people, and drove the Government. Day in and day out, it hammered for progressive war mobilization, and every issue of magnitude which it supported was eventually adopted. The public service of *The Times* in the Crimean War wins universal admiration and recognition to-day. Its services in this war have been even more valuable. Liberalism and coalition failed in leadership, though coalition was a great advance upon Liberalism. It is only to-day that we see in power under Mr. Lloyd George a Government that is absolutely a war government and that is destined to give leadership.

The unparalleled war mobilization of the United Kingdom has been accompanied by a marked change in the thought of Great Britain. There has been a mental revolution as great as the industrial one. Think of the change in the temper of a people which not only desired but demanded conscription—a measure opposed to the whole traditions of the British race. Think of the dilution of labour and then go back with me to Manchester and Cobden and Free Trade. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce to-day is a protectionist chamber. Manchester has repudiated Free Trade and deserted Cobden. The attitude of Manchester has been followed by the Associated Chambers of Commerce. Britain was represented at the Allied Economic Conference in Paris, and the Government promised action upon its decisions. It will have to give action. The people demand it. They know that trade is a weapon as well as steel. They will not be sacrificed again to economic theories.

In a memorable speech at Ladybank in the early months of last year Mr. Asquith acknowledged the need for reconsideration of the Imperial relationship. Mr. Lloyd George has summoned an Imperial War Conference. Official Britain is obeying the will of the nation. I do not mean that any definite plan of reconstruction is in the public mind. I mean that the people are determined that the leaders of Empire shall meet to consider the Imperial problem. Some of you may say I go too far. Gentlemen, unpreparedness has cost Britain and the Dominions hundreds and thousands of lives and billions and billions of dollars. It is inconceivable that slothful minds, *laissez faire* principles, academic economic theories, fanatical pacific ideals and denial of thought and investigation should again place this Empire in the position it held at the outbreak of war.

Free Trade is dead in England. The whole delusion of Hague internationalism has been established. Had the United States protested against the violation of Belgian neutrality, and gone to war for the integrity of its own treaties and the protection of little nations, Hague conventions would have been live things, and the United States would have stood before the world as the democracy that established a new international morality and brought much of the Divine into world affairs. It did not do so. And so there will be no confidence in, and no worth in, the babble of pacifists until their honour is established and the dignity of their treaties maintained. In this world, the freedom of the individual and the protection of the state is dependent upon policemen and armed men. As civil peace is maintained by law and a police system, so must international peace be maintained. Men who are too proud to fight are too weak to protect civilization. The great illusion is the illusion of the pacifist. If Norman Angell returns to England he will discover that fact. Not until pacificism admits the necessity for force will it be a vital factor for world peace.

No review of British war mobilization could be anything like complete without a reference to the war work of the women. No reference could do them justice. They have given all that is dearest to them. They have been very wonderful, so wonderful that admiration and tribute seem almost presumptuous. Theirs is the real tragedy of the war ; theirs is the highest courage. We can but glory in them; and acknowledge their practical services in hospitals, in Red Cross work of all kinds, in refreshment and recreation activities, in munitions and in many other departments of national service. It is a fact that dilution of labour has proved their industrial capacity. In my hasty trip to the munition and industrial centres of the United Kingdom, I heard warm appreciation of their ability.

Just before closing, may I be permitted to say a few words on the Irish question. I do not wish to deal with the rebellion, but the period following the rebellion. There is in some quarters a disposition to blame the British Government unduly for the failure to settle the Irish Question. There is a famous political cartoon of the period which shows Father Ireland at the foot of a flight of stairs calling to Miss Irish Government on an upper landing to come down. "There's a friend here to see you, me darlin'." In a corner Sinn Fein is waiting with a tremendous club. Gentlemen, that club smashed the settlement. Mr. Redmond knew the temper of Nationalist Ireland. He knew that never before had Sinn Fein been so popular and so formidable. He knew an election for an Irish Government might result in the defeat of his party and the election of a Sinn Fein administration. May I recall, also, that Ulster armed before the war to prevent its sacrifice to a majority antagonistic to Great Britain, and that elements in that majority rebelled during the most critical struggle in British history. Finally, may I say that Irish settlement, without coercion, is a matter for Irish leaders and that it is not a question to be decided by British or Dominion statesmen, in or out of conference.

I have endeavoured to give some indication of the war temper and the war record of Great Britain. No nation has ever been more rapidly or more greatly mobilized for a vital purpose. I have touched upon the growth of the army. Battalions have been raised in a night. Naval construction has been on a greater scale than ever before in the history of the Empire. Conscription has been introduced. There has been an industrial revolution and a vigorous and progressive change in the thought of the people. Liberal Government has given place to Coalition Government, and Coalition Government to War Government. The War Office, beginning with the creation of the Ministry of Munitions, has been decentralized and reorganized. The General Staff has been remodelled. Defenceless from the air in August, 1914, Britain has now an air protective system which largely defies enemy Zeppelin activity. In thirty months she has developed flying services equal, if not superior, to any in the world—certainly superior to those of her enemy. The whole history of the British war is one of rapid and progressive development in all vital departments. The world has never known such vigorous, such astounding war mobilization.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

GREATER ONTARIO

AN ADDRESS BY J. L. ENGLEHART, ESQ.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto.
February 8, 1917

MR. COOMBS, Vice-President, in the Chair.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In Greater Ontario there are more than 400,000 square miles. The northern portion has 330,000 square miles. Within that zone there is not alone happiness, which is the cardinal principle, but there is an assurance of a homestead to everyone who is prepared to undertake to do the work. The commission has been in existence some 11 years. Of the nine provinces forming the Dominion of Canada, Ontario is the largest, exceeding Manitoba by 155,430 square miles. It is 3⅓ times larger than Great Britain, practically twice the size of France or the Hun country. North of Cochrane, the present terminus of your railway, we have for a number of years, until the last few years, had surveyors in the field. From Cochrane it is 170 miles to the Moose River, the best harbour on the Hudson Bay.

The great agricultural possibilities of that great northern country are not within the ken of the average man, and there are great and serious regrets in regard to that. You gentlemen are the proprietors of the Province ; it is your duty to build it up. In that regard we must all drop a certain portion of that human shortcoming, selfishness — pardon me for speaking rather plainly—and see whether we can assist in building up our own country ; that is the secret of success. The climatic conditions have been misunderstood because very few pay any attention to what those conditions are. The rainfall is under

31½ inches. The average sunshine for Toronto, April to September, about 186 days, was 2,385 hours; Haileybury, 330 miles north of Toronto, claimed 185.7 days and 2,500 hours. Truly that is a pretty broad fact, and enthusiasm applies to our relative position in that condition that prevails. My claim is that of all the assets of the Dominion the largest and best asset belongs to you of the Province of Ontario. To-day the pine in the crown lands is estimated at 13 billion feet, and the value five years ago was $150,000,000. On your railway, 82 miles from North Bay, there is a virgin forest known as the Forest Reserve, the largest and considered the best reserve in the Dominion to-day. Our estimate of pulp wood is 300 million cords and the value $300,000,000. The pulpwood would pay the entire debt, and have sufficient over to enlarge our navy. The timber assets of the provinces were estimated five years ago at $400,000,000; I think we can safely add $100,000,000 to that, and then we will be within the lines of the real value to-day of the forests we hold.

The question of fisheries is largely important in connection therewith. The average yearly value of our fresh-water fisheries is $4,000,000; but in addition we have sea fisheries at the mouth of the Moose. The waters of Hudson and James Bay are themselves larger than the whole Dominion as far as its land possibilities are concerned. Those seas are virgin and are teeming with fish. If you follow the record of the Department, Ottawa, you will be surprised at the number, the value and the possibilities of our fisheries, from the whale down to the smallest of the finny tribe. Fish of every known kind are in abundance there, waiting the coming of the fisherman.

If I am rightly informed, the Empire Club is largely recruited from Missouri; hence I have brought with me an endorsation outside of myself—I should say both the sermon and the text from the Toronto *Globe*. I am going to relate a little story in connection therewith. One day last August one of Stewart Lyon's editorials appeared in the *Globe*—and no one can write a better one ; but I felt somewhat worried about that editorial, and I called on the editorial staff and remarked that the party who wrote that editorial was somewhat wide of the facts. After a little consideration and a little talk, Mr. Anderson, who represented the *Globe* in the Press Gallery, came over and interviewed me. I was called north, but I dictated a short note which appeared on the following Monday, the 14th. Shortly after that, very much to our surprise, and more than thankfulness, a dozen long letters to the *Globe* appeared from the north, signed "Ahmik" ; Mr. William M. Smith, Editor of the *Farmer's Sun*, surely a recognized authority, accepted by all, had been evidently sent north by the *Globe* to either prove or disprove your commission as to what the north possessed. The result of that work was what we term our pamphlet No. 13. We were permitted to reproduce from the *Globe* Ahmik's letters and we have headed this pamphlet "Greater Ontario The Poor Man's Hope ; what men who started bare-handed have accomplished."

Mr. Smith may be an enthusiast, but he does know what farming lands are when he sees them. In his Foreword he says:

> "In the latter part of August, 1916, "Ahmik," agricultural editor of the *Globe*, travelled over that portion of New Ontario lying between Haileybury and Porquid Junction. The trip was undertaken for the purpose of securing material for a series of articles descriptive of conditions in the Northland as they really are. The journey was not all made by rail. A good deal of the country was covered by motor, buggy, and on foot. Individual settlers, met by chance, were interviewed and information so obtained was connected up with facts "Ahmik" gleaned for himself. The articles based on the journey appeared in the *Globe* of August, 1916, and are, in part, reproduced in the pages following."

Mr. Smith says, "Soil rich, products high."

> "I have traversed the great part of the distance from Haileybury to Cochrane six times, have been over the whole distance twice, have made several side trips on different occasions, and can honestly say that I have seen there greater continuous stretches of unbroken tillable land than I have found in Old Ontario in wheeling trips covering practically every county in the province."

Under the heading "Luxuriance amid Drouth," Mr. Smith says:

> "This year New Ontario has been up against it in the matter of weather conditions. The official record at Monteith Farm shows only six inches of rain at that point from the time snow disappeared until the middle of August. Still, across the track from the farm, on the holding of an ordinary settler, I last week assisted in measuring the product of a single potato which showed a top 44 inches in width and 30 inches high and this was not a specially selected hill. It was a fair average of those growing in a considerable patch where stems and leaves hid a soil that was mellow as an ash heap. In many other places potatoes evidently as vigorous were to be seen. On the Frederick House River I was last week served with green beans, grown in a settler's garden, that were just a little better than any I had tasted before in the course of the whole summer."

The frosts become less as we denude the land of the forest ; the sun comes in and warms it up because in that land we have virtually three soils. The province has been blessed by Providence with the forest, the waste and falling limbs and leaves from which for countless ages have formed a mold of surprising depth and value. Underneath that mold we have a clay soil, and below that a limestone—a reservoir into which roots descend, refresh themselves, create growth, ripen grain, vegetables etc. The clay is the most remarkable that has come to my knowledge, differing from that of southern Ontario. I have placed samples of the clay from north Ontario alongside those from the south, and the lands of the north without exception carried off the blue ribbons. As to the land itself, the north has disadvantages, that whereas in the south we use both disc and tooth harrows in the spring for the seed-bed, in the north we were first introduced to Mr. John Frost, who creates the seed-bed, and the snow provides the blanket. As Mr. Smith says, there is no need of a nurse crop for clover is a natural crop. That land-clover is in nature's own home. Pull up a bunch of clover—it will want some little power to pull it—and you will find thousands of long roots with nodules covering every fraction of an inch. What does that say : That says that that is the natural fertilizer of the north land, whereas in the south we have to sow clover seed in order to keep up the fertility of the soil.

M. Smith then takes up the question of the cost of clearing land :

> "What is the cost of clearing the land ? That varies according to the class of timber. On part of the Monteith Farm, where some of the stumps had to be blown out with dynamite, actual records show a cost of less than $20 an acre for 20 acres. On heavily-timbered lands, if an attempt is made to clean up at once, the cost may reach $100. On the same land, if one waits for a year or two, until the stumps dry out, the outlay need not exceed that on the Monteith Farm. In some of the territory swept by the late fire the expense should not go over $2 an acre in preparing the way for the plow."

Whereas in southern Ontario the clearing is very difficult on account of the large tap-roots of hard woods, in the north, particularly the agricultural section, which is largely spruce, eight to ten inches is a large tree ; we very seldom find one between 14 and 20. With a cross-cut saw the settler, using hands and shoulders, can cut a cord a day in 16 foot lengths. Allowing him $2 a cord for cutting, $2 additional for drawing it from 2 to 8 miles, and another $2 for cutting it into wood pulp lengths of four feet that makes $6 to the man for clearing his own farm! And the pioneer pays 50 cents an acre for that land with the virgin forest on it, three years settlement' duties, a house 16 x 20, and the land is his. We tell our settlers they are not to clear all their land, but to use the forest as a savings bank, clearing 25 or 50 acres out of the 160 and allowing the balance to remain at compound interest as in a savings bank, drawing on this bank as needed by cutting five or ten acres when wanting an additional agricultural implement, an addition to his house, some new furniture, etc. To the man who comes up there bringing his hands and his shoulders with him we will guarantee not only a homestead but a heritage.

Mr. Smith speaks about the fine barns and buildings thus:

> "Even in the matter of buildings, some of the erections are equal to anything one would see in Oxford. The barn on the 'Glengarry Stock Farm' neatly painted on concrete stabling, and owned by Mr. A. J. Kennedy, would do credit to the Gold Medal Farm of the Province."

Under the heading, "Crops Generally Good," Mr. Smith speaks of the varieties of wheat, barley, peas, etc. For our seed peas in southern Ontario we have to go north, because the weevil is frightened at the word "north." Mr. Smith says, "We have neither weevil nor blight in peas here." The soil is not at all congenial to the potato bug, and Mr. Smith says the potato blight is not extensive. He speaks of the live stock industry; it is a wonderful land for that. The first hundred miles are rocks largely, but in between there are acres and acres of good soil that will furnish abundance of clover seed or timothy, and the woods themselves will furnish all the shelter you require even for the so-termed severe winters of the north. Mr. Smith follows the suggestions to the settlers and he remarked that even the fire, that unfortunately hit us this summer, "cannot destroy the spirit of Greater Ontario ; the land is still there and it is wonderful in its richness." He tells of one settler's experience :

> "Part of his potato crop was cut by the flame from a burning pile of pulpwood as clean as if cut with a scythe, but on a part of the crop untouched by the fire the vines growing from a single tuber showed a spread of top forty-four inches wide, 30 inches high, and were as green as the traditional bay-tree."

—and no potato bugs there. He tells about clover without cultivation. He gives the experience of a settler who started $100 in debt :

> "As showing what can be accomplished by one almost barren of either experience or capital, but with a plentiful endowment of grit, the case of Mr. W. G. Edwards, in Englehart District, may be cited. Mr. Edwards who is probably 45, left his home in Epping Forest, near London, as a lad of 13, and ever since then has made his own way; 14 years ago he came to Canada, and five years since he took up the lot on which he now lives, and that was then covered with timber. As he was without means when he started farming he had to work out part of his time and so the work of clearing progressed slowly at the start."

There is lots of work up north. The mines, and the construction that is constantly going on, afford ample labour.

> "This year, however, he had 20 acres in crop, he had seven head of cattle, a team of horses, a roller, disc, two plows, harrow, etc. There is no mortgage on his place and his sole indebtedness is the last instalment on his implements and one or two little store debts. That is not bad for a man who started $100 in the hole and with a family of small children on his hands.

Mr. Smith has other illustrations here He speaks particularly of an English policeman who erected his home with no other tools than an axe, cross-cut saw and buck-saw, and the finished home, Mr. Smith says, would do credit to a skilled builder. Our people up there are of that class, and whenever a man comes in they make a "bee" and the neighbours come for miles around and put up his house, just as we in the south do with the barns.

That, gentlemen, in a general way, is North Ontario. Here are a few additional cases :

Hurd Farm, 90 acres near Liskeard, $8,000 ; possibly farm implements included ; but three years ago a virgin forest.

May Farm, Huntsville, 350 acres, unimproved, two miles north Liskeard, $5,500.

McChesney Farm near Liskeard, 160 acres, largely cleared, good buildings, $12,000.

The White, 12 miles north Liskeard, 200 acres, 25 acres only cleared, $5,000.

Earlton, 160 acres, fair buildings, $9,000.

Houser Farm near Earlton, 160 acres, good buildings, fairly cleared, $10,000. Houser is a Swede ; he came there 10 years ago. A stranger came one day and asked him to place a price on his farm, and when he mentioned $10,000 the man agreed to buy it.

Mr. Stewart resides at New Liskeard, an agent for insurance and other things ; took up 160 acres of land and purchased three other sections. Five years ago there was hardly a tree off ; to-day 480 acres cleared, without a stump. It would require four times $10,000 to purchase that farm ; three times $10,000 has been offered and refused.

At the time of the fire our Commission had a few lots left in the town of Matheson, but the fire had not been more than 10 or 12 days old when the only lot left was bought by people who had lost all their possessions, and at that place the fire was the most severe, and for 10 or 12 miles there was hardly a stump left east or west. A party made application for 72 acres near Matheson. We asked for tenders for that and other lots, and Mr. Houser put in a tender at $101 per acre for the 72 acres. Some people have beliefs because they have knowledge; other people won't make the effort to obtain knowledge, and naturally they have not the belief. Now, who are these buyers, largely? Well, our good neighbour the Province of Quebec and their missionaries are in and out and over, and when there is a farm for sale, however small a clearance there may be, they are "on" when an opportunity comes, and they are from Missouri, but they know when they see it.

In this connection I might say that Mr. J. Lockie Wilson, Supt. of Fairs and Exhibitions, has sent me a statement of highest mark in standing field crops in four counties in which the highest marks were given. The report for potatoes is as follows:

Bruce, Wiarton	75½	73	71½
“ North Bruce	77¼	76	74½
Dufferin, Luther	81	80	78
“ Dufferin	82	81½	81
Middlesex, Strathroy	85½	82	81½
“ Caradoc	85	84½	84
Temiskaming, (that is your land to the north)			
Charlton	86	85	81½
Englehart	83½	83	82½
Liskeard	85	84	79

At the Ottawa Winter Fair just closed, Mr. L. Scott of Uno Park, about 120 miles north of North Bay, was awarded first honours for spring wheat in competition with counties from York east and Parry Sound north.

So that the sunlight and sun days, and the number of hours it requires for conversion, and the tremendous cold met hereabouts, cannot be so very severe.

It is possible that we may find a way to bridge through in connection with greater Ontario. From Toronto to North Bay is 227 miles; from North Bay to Cochrane, the present terminus of the Timiskaming, 253 miles; making 480 miles from Toronto the northerly limit of your present railway. The Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines is devoting personal attention to the study of the question, and we have large anticipations, but we feel we have assistance that will serve the province and serve it well.

The remarkable thing about our railway is that we carried a great deal of wheat from the west last year, and the droppings of wheat which sifted from the cars on our roadway and road-bed, and which penetrated the clay beneath the ballast, required labour again and again repeated to keep our road-bed clear. Surely that is repeated emphasis as to the agricultural possibilities of this great land.

Now, gentlemen of the Empire Club, that land should be visited and studied by those who desire to know what nature is doing in re-forestration. Where forests have been denuded they reproduce themselves with dense reforestration, springing up over night ; and it is only a question of following up the intention and in 20 years the wood will return. The Premier, Hon. Mr. Hearst, has taken upon himself the additional labours of Minister of Agriculture because he has a love for the work, and he is arranging now for three experimental farms along your Government Railway west of Cochrane in addition to the one at Monteith. Every one of these farms add wealth because they are object-lessons to the people who come to see what that land is worth.

May I presume to suggest to you, gentlemen, it is a duty you owe to yourselves, at least, if not to the province, that you go out, in and amongst your own lands, so that you may have an object-lesson, not theory but proven facts, not mere imaginary thoughts but proven facts, that the lands of Greater Ontario are for the husbandman. We ask you to make it your business to have a settler come within that zone. Your future commercial trade is within those lands. Why should you not make some effort at least in upbuilding, to know what those lands are and assist in the great efforts the Premier and the Minister of

Lands have made regarding the settlers on the lands of Greater Ontario?

North of Cochrane you have the best harbour on the James and Hudson Bays within your own Province. Your Commission have had their surveyors up and down those lands. The bays have receded and continued to recede for a good many years, hence the shores of James Bay and Hudson Bay are shallow a good many miles out from shore. At the mouth of the Moose there is an embargo—that is the word to-day for almost everything—a bar of clay. For countless ages half a dozen or more rivers have gone into it and deposited their silts, changing the shores, but there is no silt at the mouth. By the removal with a steamshovel of this clay-bar or dam, which could be readily overtaken, you could sail down to Moose Factory, where the Hudson Bay people have maintained their post for a century or more. They have honoured us with permission to examine their log-books and daily diaries ; I believe we are the first accorded this honour. We have devoted a large amount of time and spent $2,200 in following out the information we possess—actual survey and actual information which has been handed down ever since 1740 by the Hudson Bay people and their ships as they came in drawing 14 to 16 feet of water. The problem is to understand what we are going to do with the Hudson Straits, where the ice moves up and down there. As soon as we can master that strait there is an open season that runs from 3½ to 4 months. It is only a question of time when we will be able to master that ice, as it is being mastered to-day in Russia by the ice-breakers that we furnished to keep their ports open. When we do that we will have the harbour of all harbours right within your own province, and we will be able to go to the Atlantic, and eventually to the Pacific, via the mouth of the Moose River. That land from Cochrane to Moose Factory would require 165 miles of railway, and within that zone and within a square of less than 20 miles there is more than a million horse-power. One of our falls is 240 feet in height and there are many others. The rush of waters and the heavy rainfalls mark that as an ideal spot for future wonderful possibilities. The absence of any large water powers in the British Isles, the position of Moose water powers secluded yet readily accessible from all parts of Canada, from the oceans east and west, and the fact that nitrates and nitric acid material manufacture many explosives, all suggest nitric at this site may become matter of national and even imperial importance. It has been so represented to the Empire, because we have egress to the Atlantic, we have egress to the Pacific and we are within 160 miles of James and Hudson Bay. Coming south we have Toronto, and with its railway communications we have access to every portion of the Dominion, and we have our good friends to the south, so that it will prove an ideal spot ; and I am still in hopes that time will educate our people to understand what it means to them to be in a spot whose ingress from outside is almost impossible.

What else do we possess in that great land ? We know not ; but we do know that within the confines of your Greater Ontario is every mineral that we know anything at all about. We have pyrites, hence sulphur, and sulphur is the foundation of sulphuric or sulphurous acids. At Sudbury we have nickel and probably sulphur. The manufacture of sulphuric acid is of importance in the north, as it is used in the manufacture of explosives, and sulphur is the active agent in the production of sulphite, pulp, fertilizers, etc. What does that mean ? We must fertilize those lands in the North West. In Denmark, $100,000,000 are invested in water powers that they have themselves created. Denmark and Sweden have been able to obtain capital, and they supply largely the world, at least a large proportion on the other side of the ocean, with their fertilizer, and they also ship largely to the southern states. Why should we not manufacture these fertilizers ourselves ? We have the material that Providence has supplied, we have the power, and all that we require is the men and possibly the capital ; surely those are within reason.

The possibilities of the mining industry of Greater Ontario are very hard to compass in half an hour. We have to the credit of the Province from 1896 to 1916 a total sum of $93,857,859 as the value of pig iron and iron ore. The nickel production from 1889 to 1916 was valued at $63,991,945. The copper from 1886 to 1916 was valued at $55,432,759 ; and in 1916 it was estimated at $11,572,880. The silver production from 1904 to 1916, when your railway was inaugurated was $136,293,020. Cobalt from 1904 to 1916, was $3,220,127; for arsenic, by-product from Cobalt, add another million. The gold production from 1912 to 1916 was $33,069,588, and for 1916 it is estimated at $10,000,000. The dividends paid by various mining companies in the District of Timiskaming (at Cobalt, Porcupine and Kirkland Lake) in 1916 totalled $9,379,400, and the total dividends paid from 1914 to 1916 inclusive were $76,947,789.

May I urge that the people of this province should give more thought to the mineral possibilities as well as the agricultural possibilities, and then query whether our claim is not correct that the Province of Ontario holds the asset of all the assets of the Dominion ?

I have not at my command the language that I would like to address to you as to what the mineral wealth of this province consists of ; it includes the entire list of minerals, and they are there in quantity. The next ten years will be a revelation to those who know; what must it be to the man who does not know? I have a list here of all the mines and the résumé of their possibilities, and know what the next 20 months will demonstrate as to the possibilities of that north land, but lack of time forbids further enlargement.

In answer to a question from an auditor as to when the railway would be extended north, Mr. Englehart replied that at present he was not in a position to answer the question. It has been all surveyed, but would have to wait a little while before it could be gone on with. The grades will be reduced to eight-tenths in order to cut down maintenance charges which are very heavy; electrification is another very important matter, and reports on that question have been obtained for the entire line, and complete plans for that have been prepared. An engine under electrical power will cost from three to four cents a mile for maintenance charges, whereas a power engine under ordinary fuel means nine or ten cents ; besides that there is more speed and a larger tonnage than we can carry. When we went into that line we carried 600 tons ; three months ago we introduced Mikado engines of 1,200 tons. We are eliminating the 52 miles of curves on the first 100 miles as fast as possible.

The Chairman proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the speaker which was carried.

THE SPANISH NATIONS AND THEIR INCREASING INTEREST TO US

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR ALFRED BAKER, M.A., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
February 15, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Already three University professors have had the privilege of addressing Empire Club audiences. I have puzzled myself in trying to find a reason for pelting you with University men.

Many of the Empire Club members are graduates of the University of Toronto ; and I have thought that possibly they wished to hear the voices that would remind them of their long lost youth, "the happy days that are no more" when all they had to think of was football and hockey, with the examinations in the dim and distant future.

Or it may be from a benevolent wish on the part of the management to make university professors more men of the world by mingling them with the activities of life ; to remove them farther from the old fashioned professor, the professor of the cartoons, with black frock coat, trousers hitched up to the tops of his boots, old silk hat on the back of his head, green goggles, a large umbrella under his arm, and a butterfly net in his hand—in search of specimens. When said of such an one that he had a great mind, the obvious rejoinder was "He always seems to be giving it a rest."

Or it may be that our University students having so often fallen into the hands of the Toronto police, President Perry is anxious to let a Toronto audience know that the professors are not, in appearance at all events, people of criminal propensities.

Or it may be that having run short of real talent, you find professors convenient stop-gaps. Or is President Perry combing the Faculty in the hope that as Woodrow Wilson was discovered at Princeton, something equally interesting may be discovered at the University of Toronto.

In that very amusing book by Stephen Leacock, "Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich," a university president is represented as saying of a professor who had been paralyzed, that paralysis of itself did not necessarily incapacitate a man from the performance of his professional duties ; that their professor of music was paralyzed in both ears, and their professor of optics in the left eye ; and that unless this was a case of paralysis of both lobes of the brain, he could perform his duties as professor of philosoply, and certainly would be all right for the pastoral duties of the church at which he was clergyman.

I feel that this is an occasion for the employment of both lobes of the brain,—if I can get them working. The sight of the strong faces of men engaged in the actual business of life is very different from that of the faces of the callow youth that constitute our undergraduate audiences. If there were a sprinkling of the fair sex here, my task would be easier. They, you know, are generally paradoxical but always charitable ; so that failings are by them regarded as merits, and at all events the justice that would be harsh is tempered by the mercy that condones.

But your serious faces suggest that I betake me to my subject. I wish to say a word as to the extent and importance of the Spanish-speaking world ; I wish to say something, very briefly, of Spanish history ; a word of Spanish literature and especially of the study of the language ; and a word, if I have time, of the Spain of to-day and travel in it.

I think I shall best begin by stating very briefly some of the causes why, I believe, the Spanish world will grow in interest to us ; I can subsequently amplify some of these points :

1. The star of Germany is setting to us ; why should not the Spanish world supply its place in part. When you drop former acquaintances you usually try to make new ones. You say the Spanish world is not as strong as Germany. Granted. But the Spanish world has far vaster resources than Germany, unworked though they be.

2. The Spanish-American war, though a defeat for Spain, stirred an interest in South and Central America, and even in Spain itself.

3. The Panama Canal makes both sides of South America and Mexico equally accessible.

4. These countries do not manufacture, but consume and produce vast quantities of the raw material. In 1912 Germany exported to the Argentine Republic $60,000,000 worth of goods.

5. These countries are in course of development, and call for railway, electrical, bridge and other construction, and for engineers to carry out that construction.

Then, turning to another region of interest,—

6. Spanish literature is one of Europe's great literatures, rich in poetry, dramas, romances and ballads.

7. Archives relating to the early history of America are piled up in the libraries and archive offices of Spain.

8. Old Spain is perhaps the most interesting country in Europe for travel.

And now I may be permitted to amplify some of these points.

It is perfectly certain that hardly a single one of you will ever travel in Germany, or ever wish to do so. Possibly for the next half century personal intercourse with the country has ceased. I hope there will be as little business intercourse with that anathematized country. Believe me, forty years after the Franco-Prussian war there was practically no French travel in Germany.

It is equally certain that our intellectual relations with Germany will vastly fall away. The language will be less studied. Fewer German books will be translated. Less interest will be taken in what they are doing in literature, science and art. Nor is this to be regretted. In the past the Germans have been industrious exploiters of ideas which originated in other countries. Their dyeing industry was largely borrowed from the researches of Sir William Perkin, an Englishman ; our germ theory of disease is due to Pasteur, a Frenchman; our antiseptic surgery is due to Lord Lister, an Englishman ; in art and literature new schools of thought arose in France and England, which found imitators in Germany ; German fabrics are vulgar imitations of French and English goods ; the same may be said of their faïence.

The stimulus which scientific and industrial research has received, during the last two years, in France, England, the United States, and, let us not forget, Canada, will leave small need for the importation from Germany of new scientific ideas, pure or applied.

Against the cheap labour of Germany civilization must entrench itself behind the barbed wire entanglements of a substantial protective tariff.

It is well to be off with the old love before we are on with the new. We are certainly off with Germany. What is to take its place. I believe its place will in part be taken by the Spanish world,—not intellectually, we can look after that ourselves; but in travel, in commerce, in language study. Hence to-day I am speaking of Spain, Spanish and Spaniards.

NUMBER AND IMPORTANCE OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING WORLD

In statistics furnished by the New York "World" Almanac the number speaking German throughout the world is given as 130,000,000. This is quite incorrect ; the number is about 95,000,000, unless perchance all those who have a smattering of German, in whatever country they may be, are included. In the Spanish-speaking world the aggregate population is about 83,000,000, made up of 20,000,000 in Spain, 31,400,000 in South America and the West Indies, and, 8,735,000 in the Philippines.

There are no two European languages, possibly, so closely resembling one another as Spanish and Portuguese ; and those speaking Portuguese number 39,000,000, additional, i.e., 15,000,000 in Portugal and its colonies, and 24,000,000 in Brazil.

Of all those speaking European languages, 27 per cent. speak English ; 17 per cent. speak Russian ; 16 per cent. speak German ; 13½ per cent. speak Spanish ; 12 per cent. speak French.

You will see that Spanish occupies a very important place. If we include the very closely allied Portuguese language, Spanish-Portuguese stands next to English.

When we consider the *area* of Spanish-speaking countries, they increase in consequence ; for their total area is over 5,000,000 square miles ; while the area of Portugal and its colonies with Brazil is over 4,000,000 square miles. And we must not forget that area is intimately associated with possibilities of expansion and resources, and therefore with future greatness. How clearly we recognize this in Canada. The area of the British Empire is over 13,000,000 square miles ; that of the Russian Empire about 9,000,000 ; France and its colonies about 4,000,000 ; Germany, 208,780 and German colonies when she had them, 1,134,000 ; Austria, 134,634 ; Hungary, 125,400.

It is not necessary for me here to refer to the importance of South American trade.

Spanish world with Portugal, exports to Britain, $440,000,000 ; Imports from Britain, $254,000,000.

Germany exports to Britain, $235,000,000 ; Imports from Britain, $180,000,000.

INCREASING INTEREST IN THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

Recently the importance of the Spanish language has received signal recognition.

In England, Spanish chairs have lately been founded in the Universities of Leeds and London. (It is rather amusing to learn that the German prisoners on the Isle of Man are studying Spanish.)

In the United States, however, the drift to Spanish is singularly marked. Of course English and Spanish are the languages of the Western hemisphere ; and no doubt Spanish is taken up in the United States largely from utilitarian and trading reasons. It has recently been given a more conspicuous place and is receiving more attention in American Educational Institutions ; especially remarkable is the attention given it in secondary schools in the Union, corresponding to our High Schools and Collegiate Institutes ; still more remarkable is the fact that in these schools in some places it is crowding out German.

Let us descend to details :

In the high schools of Cambridge, Mass., where the population is 110,000, there are 800 pupils taking Spanish.

The number of students taking Spanish in the University of Chicago has increased threefold in eighteen months.

The attendance in Spanish at the University of Michigan has increased as follows: in 1914 it was 110 ; in 1915, 225 ; in 1916, 450 ; i.e., doubling each year.

The Central High School, Detroit, has 236 pupils in Spanish with more asking for instruction ; and those taking German is decreasing.

In the De Witt Clinton High School, New York City, there are 1,234 pupils taking Spanish out of an attendance of 5,000; and the attendance in German is decreasing.

In the Commercial High School of Brooklyn there are 2,000 in Spanish; and in the High School of Commerce of Manhattan about 1,700, and these facts are only illustrative of what is going on all over the United States.

We must also remember that Spanish is a comparatively easy language, and that German is difficult. Under equally favourable conditions English or Spanish would always drive German out. I believe that in two or three generations the large German colony in Brazil will find itself speaking Spanish or Portuguese ; though recently that colony has tried to draw other Germans to it on the ground that they would not be called upon to learn a new language, as they would have to do if they emigrated to the United States.

Spanish is spoken of as the most stately of languages, and its literature is one of the great European literatures. We recall the great names of Cervantes, Lopede Vega and Calderon. In recent writing the works of Galdos and Pio Baroja deserve to rank with the best recent writers in French and English.

I may remind you of Longfellow's and Mrs. Hemans' charming translations from the Spanish. Spain furnished the inspiration for a large part of the first Canto of Byron's Childe Harold.

THE SPANISH EMPIRE

In the reign of Philip II. the Spanish Empire consisted of Spain, the Netherlands, the greater part of Italy, practically all of South America, a large part of North America and of the West Indies, vast possessions in the East Indies and in Africa (of the present United States it possessed Florida, Texas, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico ; i.e., about one-third of the United States). It was the greatest Empire in the world, and Philip unquestionably was the most powerful monarch.

What an opportunity, you would say, for the creation of a vast and enduring colonial empire. And so it was. Unhappily Spain had never taken to itself liberty, that pearl of great price.

The first part of her empire to fall away were the Netherlands and her Italian provinces. But that in reality was an advantage. You will recollect that England at the time possessed half of France ; but fortunately lost it, until Calais alone remained. Then in Mary's time Calais also went ; and Shakespeare could speak of England as

> "This precious stone set in the silver sea
> Which serves it in the office of a wall."

And Tennyson

> "Compassed by the inviolate sea."

Imagine England in Napoleon's time embarrassed by having to defend Calais.

Some stupid people attribute the decline of Spain to the defeat of the Armada. Spain could easily have recovered from the loss of a fleet. Nor was it the loss of her European possessions that brought about the decline of Spanish power. The decay of a nation, like the decay of these bodies of ours, is usually due to internal causes. You will die, a thousand to one, from something that goes wrong within you. So it is with nations.

Talleyrand, the distinguished French statesman, was accused of always betraying his political associates. He was a favourite with Louis XVI. ; he was a political leader with the revolutionists ; he was in the confidence of Napoleon ; when Napoleon went to Elba he was again accepted by the Bourbons ; and so on. (We have never had any rapid-change artist equal to him in political life in Canada.) Well Talleyrand was accused of always betraying his friends. He boldly retorted,—"I never abandoned a party until the party had abandoned itself." What a splendid defence of an unprincipled line of conduct. He almost justifies himself. And so it may be said,—Fortune never abandons a nation until the nation abandons itself.

Spain declined, not because a blow was struck from without, but from malignant growths within,—political corruption, want of political insight in its rulers, inability to comprehend the spirit of liberty, domestic quarrels, absence of the spirit of sacrifice.

And though the defeat of the great Armada occurred in 1588, and though the declension of Spanish power is often dated from that event, Spain's colonial Empire did not begin to fall away until two centuries after that, until the beginning of the nineteenth century ; and 1811 may be taken as approximately the date of the loss of her colonies.

The spirit of the French Revolution was in the air, and had penetrated to the Spanish colonies in the new world. They thought they ought to be republics too, though Heaven knows they were ill-fitted for that form of government. Spain's only conception of colonial administration was the levying of exorbitant taxes and the collecting of exorbitant duties. And when rebellion became possible through Spain's European troubles (1800-1815), the colonies fell away like worm-eaten apples from the parent tree.

But had the history of Spain been different, had she cultivated the spirit of liberty and instructed her people in constitutional government, as did England, what a splendid colonial Empire she might now have, and how different the history of South and Central America and Mexico would have been.

Spain is a "Niobe of Nations," to use Byron's words in speaking of Rome. Niobe, you will recollect, in Greek mythology was the mother who had her children taken from her. Niobe in mythology turned to stone, and Spain almost suffered petrifaction. But, as I have tried to impress upon you, I believe a brighter day is dawning in the Spanish world ; and it may even happen as time goes on, that a confederacy may be formed of Spanish-speaking countries as has often been proposed. But as to-day we contemplate those scattered fragments of a once mighty and world-wide empire, how fervently we thank Heaven we are the offspring of Britain, and how fervently we repeat the words of Sir John MacDonald, "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I shall die."

TRAVELLING IN SPAIN

We should form a false notion of the character of the Spanish people if our judgment were formed by what we have read of the Spanish inquisition, and by what we know of bull fighting.

They are a kindly, warm-hearted people.

It must be remembered that for centuries they were in contact with, were oppressed by, and fought against the Moors, a non-Christian people. The consequence of this was that they formed very violent views as to what their attitude should be towards all who differed from them in religion. Such were considered alike the enemies of God and man, and were deserving of extermination as they had exterminated or expelled the Moors, unless they consented to change their faith. I think the centuries of struggle with the Moors explains the excesses of the Spanish inquisition.

Bull fighting is of course a brutal form of amusement. The authorities and clergy have tried in vain to stop it. To stop it would possibly provoke a revolution. It is not the simple matter that putting an end to drinking is in Ontario. If they could import bull fights in bottles from, say, Paris, it very possibly would not mean a revolution.

Kindness to animals is a neglected part of Spanish education. The dogs look neglected ; the asses and mules look neglected. There is a S.P.C.A. in Gibraltar, as might be expected, but not farther north.

It is extraordinary to what extent the so-called sport dominates the Spanish people. Seville, a city of about 150,000 people, has a bull ring, most substantially constructed, capable of holding 25,000 spectators. The bull rings of Spain would hold 2,000,000. Women are not very much in evidence in the more expensive seats, from which one judges that ladies of the upper and middle classes do not as a rule attend.

Bull fighting is not more brutal than fox hunting. The animal is of course provoked in various ways, but death at the end, where a straight two-edged sword is plunged between the shoulders, comes instantly. The goring of the horses is the more brutal part of the affair.

Of course the intrinsically brutal thing is that thousands of people should gather in holiday garb to see anything killed,—"Butchered to make a Roman holiday," as Byron says of the gladiatorial combats. However, there it is,—a national institution. Yet I feel myself justified in saying that the Spanish are a kindly people.

It may interest some of you young fellows when I say that I think I never saw anywhere so many good-looking women as I saw in Spain. It may also interest some of more mature years. Beautiful teeth, due to eating the hard-crusted bread ; beautiful hair, due perhaps to going without hats or bonnets ; eyes like velvet ; olive complexions. Yet somehow I got tired of seeing such a monotonous uniformity of colour, especially as they usually dress in black. They take no exercise, and therefore soon lose their figure, becoming stout,—as our Toronto women are destined to become through use of automobiles and street cars.

Travel is inexpensive. I think the mileage ticket that took Mrs. Baker and myself from one end of Spain to the other, with many side trips, cost only $65.00, and that meant first class. The trains are slow, but the grades are often steep, and you feel safer when not carried at a high speed.

The hotels in the cities are very good and not expensive. I was advised to take a box of Keating's Insect Powder with me, but never found occasion for its use. You have not baths attached to your bedroom, but you can always get a huge jug of hot water (agna caliente), and the man who cannot keep clean with a gallon of hot and a gallon of cold water each morning, and a sponge, is not accustomed to bathing. The floors of the bedrooms are tiled, so that you may regard the whole room as a bath.

Tipping of course prevails, but a small tip goes a long way,—indeed the smallest tip is gratefully received.

Cabs are cheap. You can go from one end of Madrid to the other for about 40 cents, including tip to the jehu.

I wish I could take you on a journey through Spain with the lantern slides I have had made, converted into movies. I content myself with mentioning two or three places of interest.

TOLEDO

Toledo is situated on a great rocky bluff overlooking the Tagus which surrounds it on three sides. It is the Canterbury of Spain. I think it is the most interesting city of Spain, almost of any country. The trouble about Toledo is that when you have seen it all other cities seem modern. Romans, Visigoths, Saracens and Christians have all occupied it, and have all left their mark. The streets in the main are so narrow that carriages cannot be used on them. Tall houses, almost windowless on the side next the street ; a court inside of course, but the door opening to it like the door of a fortress. The cathedral goes back 700 years, and is most imposing both externally and internally. The cloisters in the church of San Juan of the Kings are perhaps the most magnificent in all Europe.

The narrow streets are defended on the ground that such afford more shade than wide ones, which in a warm country is important. The women with their huge jugs at the public fountain, exchanging gossip and waiting for their turn, are most picturesque. The streets are so crooked that even a designer of Rosedale would be bewildered. The view from the terrace by the Military College is very fine, but marred by the absence of trees in the far-stretching landscape,—a defect in nearly all Spanish landscape. Toledo is associated with the exploits of the Cid, that half mythical hero.

No cathedral in Europe can equal the Spanish in the richness of their furniture. Spain enjoyed enormous wealth when the world contained great artists, which of course explains the marvels of the Prado, the great picture gallery of Madrid.

No Canadian would start a city on the site of such a rock as Toledo. We place cities so that railroads may enter them, that they may be drained inexpensively, that boats may approach them. When Sir George Foster was talking here the other day of the rocks at one of our Pacific termini, I thought of Toledo. However, Toledo was properly placed for the age in which it was built, when defence was the first consideration.

THE ALHAMBRA

In Granada you will be interested in the snow-capped summits of the Sierra Nevada ; in the green valley, due to irrigation works that date back to the days of the Moors ; in the distant pass in the mountains known as El ultimo suspiro del Maro, where the defeated Moorish monarch, Boabdil, turned to have a last view of the beautiful city that had been his home, and wept. His masculine mother upbraided him with, "Why weep like a woman for what you could not defend as a man." When a man looked sad the Arabs used to say, "He is thinking of Granada."

In Granada, in the Cathedral, is the most magnificent interior, I think, I have ever seen. But it is the famous Alhambra that will attract you most at Granada. That you may not be disappointed in it you should give full rein to your imagination, prepared by previous reading. Load yourself up with Lalla Rookh, The Light of the Harem, Paradise and the Peri, The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan, Washington Irving's Tales of the Alhambra and Conquest of Granada, The Arabian Nights, Prescott's Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

You ascend a magnificent avenue between rows of elm trees said to have been presented by the Duke of Wellington. Down both sides descend streams of water making an eternal music. The charm of water, in fountains, streams or pools is all over the place. The orientals well knew its fascination,—witness such metaphors as

> "As the hart panteth after the water brooks."
> "With joy shall we draw water from the wells of salvation."
> "Like the shadow of a great rock in a thirsty land."

imagination play, and fancy you encounter a cavalcade of Moorish Knights with their picturesque headdress and flowing garments on graceful Arabian horses. If you go to this avenue at the proper season and at night you will hear the singing of countless nightingales, or bulbuls as the orientals call them.

You proceed to the Alhambra, and you must recollect that it is not a single palace but a fortified eminence including two palaces, a citadel and many private residences. The architecture is not imposing. The charm is the decoration, which consists of geometrical forms with remarkable colour schemes, chiefly in stucco. The religion of the Moors, you will recollect, did not permit them to use graven images, human or animal. These are not even representations of plant life. The columns are slim and do not add to the impressiveness of the place, Here again your imagination may people the colonnades, and alcoves and fountain seats with picturesque Moorish figures, and dark-eyed odalisques.

You are shown where Washington Irving lived for a time that, through seeing it under various conditions, by pale moonlight, gilded with the evening rays, or brightened by the rising sun, he might absorb the spirit of the place and charmingly write of it.

From various points you get magnificent views of the city below and the great valley in which it is placed ; and you will not wonder that the Moors loved it, and that it was a heart-break to be compelled to surrender it to Ferdinand and Isabella, the crescent yielding to the cross.

Leaving the Alhambra you proceed farther and ascend higher to the Generalife, the summer residence of the califs. You advance through a magnificent avenue of cypress trees. Generalife is unspeakably charming,—exquisite gardens, tanks of bright green water, the music of running streams, climbing rose trees flinging out cataracts of bright roses, divine views of the surrounding country. Some scandals associated with Moorish days will be related—you have observed that a scandal is never too old to cease to be interesting—and as you gaze on the languorous enervating beauty about you, you will probably say apologetically to yourself, "How could they help it ?" The words of Claude Melnotte in the "Lady of Lyons" may come to you,—

> "A palace lifting to eternal summer
> Its marble walls, from out a glossy bower
> Of coolest foliage musical with birds
> Whose songs should syllable thy name. At noon
> We'd sit beneath the arching vines, and wonder
> Why Earth could be unhappy, while the Heavens
> Still left us youth and love."

You will feel you could stay there forever ; and though forced to leave, you will never forget the charm of the gardens of the Generalife.

THE ESCORIAL

It is an abrupt change from the bright sunshine of the Generalife to the overwhelming gloom of the Escorial (Escoria, slag ; and therefore, "the place of ashes"). A railway journey of a couple of hours takes you from Madrid to the famous Escorial. It was built by Philip II., him of Armada fame, from 1563 to 1584, i.e., 21 years in construction.

A vast amphitheatre of desolate hills, with this great monastery-church-palace in the centre of the plain below, its gloomy granite walls seem to chill even the genial Spanish sunshine.

Philip was a morbid ascetic, a gloomy fanatic ; and no man ever worked his character into a building more thoroughly and completely than Philip has worked his into the Escorial. It has stood for 300 years. Its massive granite walls will stand for 30,000 years; and Philip's character will still fling its shadow on it, still haunt its halls and corridors like a ghost.

There Philip, though the absolute monarch of two worlds, the most powerful potentate on earth, was plain "Brother Philip," a monk in his own monastery. His father, Charles V., you will recollect, gave up the proudest throne in Europe to become the occupant of a cell in an out of the way monastery.

You are shown Philip's small and bare bed and sitting rooms, with a little cloister at the side looking down on the chancel and altar of the vast church, so that unseen he could participate in the solemn service as it progressed below. The plain bed, table and other furniture suggest the man who had abandoned all the vanities of this world. It was but a step to the narrowness of the coffin. Here he heard with equal stoicism the news of the victory at Lepanto and the tidings of the defeat of the great Armada.

In the Escorial there are literally acres of the most gorgeous tapestry in the world ; and there are many other artistic treasures and architectural beauties of fadeless interest ; but the part that will impress you most is the little octagonal chapel beneath the high altar where on shelves in marble coffins the monarchs of Spain find their last resting place. And you will come away feeling that after life's fitful fever you would sooner rest in some quiet country churchyard, where the sun shines, than in the gloomy if splendid mausoleum where repose the monarchs of Spain. It was a country churchyard that inspired the tender pathos of Gray's Elegy.

I trust that our friendship with Spain may grow ; and that Spain may see it is to her interest to become, like the other Latin nations—France, Italy and Portugal—a member of the Entente Cordiale. We can forgive Spain for having, three hundred years ago, tried to conquer us, especially as she failed.

I have mentioned the Spanish Armada, and I close with an historical parallel not foreign to the times. Thrice in history has Britain been assailed by the greatest force that imperial power could assemble or human genius direct. In each case the attack has been made by the world's greatest military power ; in each case that power has been in pursuit of world-wide empire ; and in each case that power has regarded Britain as the sole obstacle to its acquisition of universal empire.

The first assault was defeated in the disasters that overwhelmed the great Armada.

The second was crushed at Trafalgar when the combined fleets of the enemy were destroyed ; for Waterloo saved rather the rest of Europe.

It is our destiny at the beginning of the twentieth century to witness the third attempt on the life of our Empire ; and it will be our destiny to witness its defeat, not by a brilliant engagement like that at Trafalgar, where Nelson as in a chariot and horses of fire was carried to eternal fame, but by a process of attrition wrought by those vast watchful monsters that rest not day or night as they toss on the rolling waters of the North Sea ; while our boys elsewhere help the fleet again to save the rest of Europe, and civilization, and Christianity.

A vote of thanks was heartily carried.

WIN THE WAR—THE NEXT STEP

AN ADDRESS BY B. APTHORP GOULD, ESQ., M.A., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
February 22, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am deeply sensible not only of the honour of having this chance to address you, but of the opportunity which it offers. Those who speak to you speak through you to Canada, and the responsibility is set upon them of saying things which will be of service to Canada in these high times. It is almost as evil to bury one's talents in the ground as it is to dissipate them, and it is therefore with a serious earnestness that I address you to-day.

Three weeks ago Major Gordon, our beloved Ralph Connor, said in this place that the question was bluntly whether or not Canada was ready to quit in this war, whether the feeling unquestionably existing in certain quarters that Canada has already given about all the assistance which she ought to give or without undue hardship can give is to prevail. There is no question but that for the last few months Canada has been faltering in the matter of military assistance ; the question now is whether Canada is to come forward again with renewed vigour, or is to consider her part in the war completed.

Gentlemen, there is no doubt in my mind as to the answer which the members of this Club will make to this question, nor any doubt that the vast majority of the people of Canada will make the same answer if this matter be put clearly before them. Canada is in the war, not as a fair weather friend, but to endure to the very last. This determination, however, does not lessen the duty that rests upon us so to co-ordinate our efforts as to render the maximum of assistance, military, industrial and financial, with the minimum weakening of the vigour of the nation. Our duty is clear to see that those men go to war who can render most service in war, and that those men devote themselves to essential industries at home who can do most for their country by staying at home. The call of our noble dead in Flanders and in France comes clearly to our ears, demanding that they be avenged and that the cause for which they died be assured ; we cannot be deaf to the call of our living soldiers overseas, who rely on us for assistance and reinforcements. Our obligation to heed these calls requires us so to organize at home, with calm and wise foresight, that we may be able not only to do our utmost to-day, but continue to do our utmost so long as the war shall last.

Of all the countries taking part in this war, Canada has least to gain in material things. There is no possibility of any indemnity or territorial increases ; no neighbouring lands can become new parts of the British Empire and fall under our influence, as is the case in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. There is no threat to us from alien races. We already have complete self-government, and cannot look for a broader direction of our own affairs, as may result in India and some of the crown colonies. All that we are to gain from this war must be of moral nature, must be in the great intangibles that are the true basis of civilized life. But in these I am convinced that Canada has a profit of incalculable worth to win, a profit so great that I believe it will much more than pay for the cost to us in men and money and service of this war. Individually we are greater and nobler for what we are doing ; as a nation we can build a tradition to inspire our descendants. But above all we can achieve a national unity, a national character, from the stress of these times ; and if we fail to do this we throw away the most splendid opportunity we have ever had. If we do not issue from this war a united and ennobled nation, it will be our own fault and our own shame.

Believing this, all that I am going to say to you is founded on two great fundamental premises, and I do not think that any member of this Club or any far-seeing and earnest Canadian will dispute either of them. The first is that the only thing which really matters in the world to-day is that this war, between the ideal of justice on the one hand and the ideal of brute power on the other, be carried to a completely victorious termination. The second is that the only thing that matters for Canada to-day is that Canada shall do Canada's full duty, and that there is no difference between Canada's full duty and Canada's full possibility of service. I care not how far men may differ from me in other matters so long as we agree on these. These give us a common ground from which we can advance together as we can see the way toward a common accomplishment.

I am going to trepass on your patience for a moment to give you a few words of personal history, because I think it will enable you to understand better what I am trying to convey to you, and will let you know why I am where I am and why I am doing what I am doing. I have been an American citizen, but have been living for the last thirteen years in Toronto, where I have business interests. Until the great questions of the war searched the very depths of my soul, I found no fundamental difference between Americans and Canadians, nothing which prevented me from living in self-respect as an American in Canada. My forefathers for nearly three hundred years have lived in Massachusetts and have been intimately associated with the birth and the growth of the American republic. At the time of the Revolution they conceived it their duty to throw in their lot with the Thirteen Colonies, and indeed were prominent in propagating the belief that the personal and political liberty and equality in which they believed a century and a half ago as fervently as I believe to-day demanded that rupture which has resulted in the United States. This love of freedom is the tradition of my house, bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh, drawn in with my mother's milk. I am now changing my citizenship and am becoming a British subject. In making this change I do not think I am false to the tradition of my house; it is because I must be true to it that I have felt obliged to take the step which I have taken. I think that in view of existing circumstances I can be worthy of my tradition only if I throw myself whole-heartedly into support of that democracy which alone in the Americas has from the beginning supported the burden of maintaining those principles of liberty in which I and my ancestors have believed. For a couple of years I have tried to convince myself that I was doing my full duty in endeavouring to awaken my countrymen to a realization of their obligations to civilization. I think that no one has been more outspoken than I in demanding that the United States be true to its history and its ideals. The time has now come when I cannot longer stand in any degree aloof from the objects of this war. I believe that as a British subject I can do more to help win the war, and in doing so to help the true cause of liberty and civilization. My old citizenship has meant a great deal to me ; I must make my new citizenship mean to me even more. I have of course sealed my lips so far as continuing to criticize the course of the United States government is concerned. I can, however, now speak freely and frankly here in Canada as a citizen and not merely a resident, and can use whatever powers may be mine to encourage and aid Canada in her great and sacred duty.

I feel, therefore, that if I can offer any constructive criticism which may be of value, I not only am free to do so, but that I must do so. It is in this spirit that I am addressing you to-day. I hope also that the fact that I have never been a member of either political party in the United States and that I come to Canada absolutely free from Canadian partizanship, actuated only by a desire that Canada shall do her full duty, may make what I say carry additional weight.

If I criticize some of the measures the Government of Canada has adopted or its failure to adopt other measures, do not think that I am not fully aware of the many fine and effective things this Government has done. Sir Robert Borden did not hesitate a moment in changing at the very outbreak of war the technical belligerency of Canada into an active belligerency, and on Canada's behalf has promised a splendid contribution of men. It was legally and physically possible for Canada to maintain a purely passive belligerency, such as since the fall of Tsing-Tao has been conducted by Japan, the kind of belligerency which those who think as I do believe is the least that any civilized nation in the world should for its own morality be satisfied with. This of course would not apply to those small neutrals the geographical position of which makes passive belligerency impossible. and which cannot enter the war as a protest against Prussianism without being prepared to endure its utmost rigours. Sir Robert's vision at once appreciated the impossibility of such passivity being either acceptable to Canada's loyal people or being compatible with the future development of the land or the soul of the nation. The finance department has been handled by Sir Thomas White with wisdom and vigour and even if anyone thinks that some of the financial legislation might have been made more effective or more equal no one can say that as a whole his work has not been splendidly done. The most dramatic part of a government entering upon war is of course the army organization, and we must all admire the energy and freedom from red tape with which the work in this department was instituted. Temperamental qualities may have made it impossible for Sir Sam Hughes to continue in charge, may indeed have made his actual tenure of the office altogether too long, but I think few will question the fact that at the beginning his vigour and determination was admirably useful. I think that Mr. Kemp is succeeding in introducing business methods into this department in a way which is steadily and rapidly increasing the efficiency of its operation, and I believe that we are justified in expecting a continued and satisfactory progress in this direction, except, of course, in the matter of sufficient recruits, which extends far beyond the limits of any one department.

The one great endeavour in which it seems to me the Borden Government has failed lamentably has been in the matter of creating and organizing National Service, and if the nature of such service be analyzed it appears inevitable that there should have been a failure here. This is in many ways the most important of the three great divisions of government duty which in time of war become of supreme importance, the departments which deal with finance, with the military, and with National Service. But National Service much more than the others depends for its success upon the inspiration and active co-operation of the whole mass of the people, and it is in the matter of National Service that any party government naturally must show its greatest weakness.

The theory of our government is that the people in whom all authority ultimately resides are adequately represented in Parliament, and that the voice of Parliament is the voice of the people. Is this assumption true in fact under the existing circumstances ? Consider that the members of Parliament were for the most part elected before the war, and chosen on issues entirely foreign to the great questions now before the people. Rightly or wrongly, also, many elected members have become prone to consider that they represent not the nation as a whole first, their own constituencies second, and their political party last and far behind the others, but are inclined to invert this order of their responsibilities. Personal and political obligations are often considered, local rather than national needs may have inspired their election, and the fear of defeat if they shall act in a way displeasing to their particular constituencies is too apt to deprive them of that fearlessness of immediate consequence which is the greatest need of our lawmakers and administrators in time of war.

It is this fear of immediate consequences which makes the average partizan afraid of those whom he is supposed to represent. His attitude is that the people will not stand for this burden or that burden, even though he may know that the imposition of the burdens may enure to the benefit of the nation as a whole. I am myself absolutely satisfied that he is wrong; I believe that at a time like this the people will perform any duties and accept any sacrifices demanded of them by a government which they believe is wise, fearless and patriotic. If in the nature of things a particular burden must fall upon a particular class of the people it will be accepted so long as other and corresponding burdens are imposed upon the other classes, and an honest attempt is made to reach substantial justice by seeking substantial or equivalent sacrifices from all. As Lloyd George has put it, it is impossible to obtain equal sacrifices from all ; we must require equal willingness to sacrifice.

I wish to make it clear before going further that I fully recognize that there are many able and absolutely patriotic members of our Parliament. There are many who rise far above party or local considerations at a time like this, and are influenced only by a desire to do for Canada what Canada needs. Their position, however, often becomes most difficult. If the measure they believe ought to be adopted originates with the opposite party, they lay themselves open to charges of treachery and disloyalty to their leaders if they support it ; if the measure is one which does not have the support of either party leader, they run the risk of butting their heads against a stone wall and committing political suicide without gaining the object of their endeavours. One of the great purposes of the procedure which I am about to advocate is to give support and strength to these brilliant and patriotic members and to proclaim to them that the whole nation stands behind them.

It follows from what I have said that I am convinced that the plain way of getting from Canada that service which Canada can and ought to render is by unifying and uniting Canada for the one great purpose of service, of bringing into effective co-operation all those forces of patriotism and loyalty to high ideals which I believe exist in the land, needing only an opportunity to demonstrate that they are the greatest moving force in the land. There is in Canada a great reservoir of patriotism and courageous highmindedness which needs only to be tapped to flood the land ; we need only to mobilize our forces of national willingness to increase enormously the strength of Canada for good, and if this war is to yield us a profit and not a loss, it must come from such a mobilization of our patriotism.

The thing that can accomplish for Canada the great purpose of performing her full duty is that thing which shall promote unity of action on the part of all who place patriotism and the will to serve above party considerations of any other matters of lesser moment. The hope of the nation lies in the fact that the intelligent and high-minded people are thinking exactly the same thoughts in regard to the great duties of these times from one end of the country to the other. They may differ never so much on the smaller things, party and language and creeds and forms of religion and local interests of the East and the West, but these differences do not make them any the less able to agree on love of country and desire that it shall perform its duty.

A striking example of how elements which many people have thought so diverse as to be incapable of being brought together in amity and wisdom for the purpose of working out methods for their common advantages is shown in the recent Bonne Entente movement to bring the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec into closer sympathy. The result of the beginnings already made seems to me to be big with promise for the future of a greater and more united Canada. The conservative English-speaking Prime

Minister of Ontario and the liberal French-speaking Prime Minister of Quebec, the Roman Catholic Archbishop and the Church of England Bishop, the leader of the Ontario liberals, General Lessard and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province sat at dinner together, and found nothing but praise for the high ideals and lofty patriotism of all about that board. The alleged lion and the reputed lamb were able not only to part after the meeting, but to part with feelings of mutual respect and admiration. The leaven of this movement may not yet have penetrated to the mass of the electorate of the two provinces, but the fact that it is working in the minds of the most influential and public-spirited citizens makes it certain to my thinking that it will penetrate the whole mass of the people.

The condition which needed this Bonne Entente movement grew out of the fact that the two Provinces were ignorant of one another. It is when people are associated only with others who think as they do that they become petty and intolerant. Extravagance of statement is much more likely to occur in an address to a sympathetic audience than to one which is coolly critical; when people are met together who think alike, each is urged on by the presence of his neighbour to go further than under other circumstances he would be willing to go or would dare to go. Support breeds courage; applause begets extravagance.

This characteristic of human nature can be wisely used to promote the welfare of our land. If men from all over this country who are one in love of the country and true patriotism are gathered together they will go further in courageous demands and in willingness to bear burdens and to make sacrifices than they will apart and alone. The support of their fellows, the identity of their highest ideals, the inspiration which flows from one to another, will help to bring about a Canadian unity which will be of incalculable value both in enabling Canada to do her full possibility in this war and in cementing all the parts together into a true nationality after the war. We have at last one basic thing upon which all true Canadians can unite.

This, then, is to my thinking the next step for Canada. Get together. Get together for Canada, for the British Empire, for the Entente Powers, for Civilization. Get together in a great convention, a "Win the War" convention, a "Do our Duty" convention. Get together men from every part of Canada and from every class of Canada, together under one roof, together in the one interest of Canada and not of any party or faction in Canada. Get men from all the existing organizations, from the Patriotic Leagues and the Recruiting Leagues, from the Boards of Trade, the Farmers' Granges, and the Grain Growers' Associations, from the Rotary Clubs, and the Canadian Clubs and this Empire Club of yours, from the Manufacturers' Associations and above all from the Labour Unions. Bring them together on the understanding that each is come not to see what he can get for the particular interest he represents but what that interest can give for Canada ; not what burdens it can escape but what burdens it can assume.

Gentlemen, much of the work of preparing the way for such a convention has been done, although I think this is the first public announcement of it. All that is needed is the earnest co-operation of you and men like you in every part of this Dominion of ours. This work is being done by men who are, as I firmly believe, entirely disinterested, and who are inspired to do it only by a sense of duty and a love of Canada. About fifty representative men met a few days ago to discuss this matter, and not one of them left that meeting with any doubt that in such a convention lay the possibility of great usefulness. About three hundred men drawn from all parts of Ontario are to meet next Tuesday to discuss this matter, and to form an organization that shall enable the patriotism of this Province to be duly represented and expressed. Similarly the movement is being organized in the other Provinces.

Do not think that this movement is in any way political except in the highest sense of the word. It is not in favour of any political party or against any political party ; much less is it a third party movement. It is not to find fault with the past but to demand for the future. We want the help of every one of you, the earnest, active, hard-working help, but we want each of you to help us inside of the party to which you belong, not outside of it. We want a great deal of work and a very little money to enable us to take care of the necessary expenses. And above all we want unbounded enthusiasm which shall arouse and create enthusiasm for patriotism throughout Canada.

I do not think that at a time like this it is possible to hand-pick a man as a leader and say to him, "Thou are the man ; go forth and lead thy people out of the wilderness." A movement of this kind produces its own leaders ; the psychology of the time brings them forth, and they become far greater and more efficient than any who might be chosen and bottle-fed for the occasion. Great times, great deeds and great efforts produce great men. Each of us can think of a dozen instances of the greatness of this war entirely changing the stature of a man's soul.

I am not going to take up your time with any outline of any specific demands which I think such a convention should make upon the government, no matter how definitely I may have in my own mind a picture of what Canada can do and ought to do. I merely state my earnest conviction that out of such a convention will come a Canadian National Service, a National Service of all the people of Canada, that shall be a proof that Canada stands unitedly and unflinchingly behind this war.

Gentlemen, at this point I want to bring to your attention that a democracy if adequately expressed gets exactly what it deserves and gives exactly what it is willing to give. But a democracy is not always adequately expressed ; the tools with which it works may be worn out or unsuitable, those who legislate for it or administer its affairs may not truly represent it. The natural and historic way in such case for a democracy to express itself is by a convention such as the one which I have suggested, a convention which shall come direct from the heart of the people and shall be free from intermediaries of any kind. I who believe in democracy, I who believe in Canada, believe that such a convention is needed to express the true Canadian democracy, and that its expression will be worthy both of the institution and of the nation.

I therefore appeal to all patriots, whatever their views as to the right methods for Canada to take, to come to such a convention to express them. Does a man believe that the existing party government can be made the most effective power for Canada ? Let him come to this convention and say so. Does he think that a Coalition Government or a National Government or a Business Government is needed ? Let him come to this forum and make his plea. Does he want a General Election or does he think that at this time it would only serve to fan into flame the fires of partizanship which should be held in abeyance ? Let him come forward and speak directly to Canada his convictions. I care not what views are held by those who make up this convention ; I ask only that they have brains and patriotism, and that they have no private axes to grind, neither political nor personal, neither for their pocket-books nor their own ambitions, I have faith that in such case they will justly arrive in their collective wisdom at the right course for Canada to take.

This war has done away with many of the precedents of the past ; let this convention be unprecedented in the loftiness of the ideals it is gathered to express and to insist upon. Let it set a new high-tide mark, for unselfishness and desire that our country shall prove itself truly great.

If you are willing to believe with me in the possibility of greatness for this land, if the vision of a Canada making as much for the good of the world as any nation on any continent appeals to you as it appeals to me, if you think that true democracy holds the best promise for the happiness of a people and can be made equal to any task and any crisis, if you have that same pride of country which already inspires me, your youngest Canadian, do this thing that I ask of you. It is only by working together that we can accomplish ; it is co-operation only which makes progress possible. Each of you has faith in himself, each has faith in his own house, in his own city, in his own province. For the sake of Canada, I ask that in like manner you shall have faith in one another, and shall prove that you are broad-minded enough to trust your fellow Canadians from other parts of the land. When you hear that a Canadian battalion is going into action you have faith that it will acquit itself bravely and nobly, and you do not have to pause to ask whether it was recruited from the East or the West, from Ontario or Quebec or British Columbia. In like manner have faith in the patriotism and courage of your fellow Canadians gathered together for service to their land.

I have lately discussed with men from different parts of Canada propositions for undertaking great and burdensome duties, and in each case the man with whom I had been speaking has told me that his own province would accept such burdens, but that he doubted if the other provinces would do so. This, gentlemen, only goes to show tht each man has measured and plumbed the depth of patriotism among these whom he knows, and has faith in the underlying unsefishness and nobility of purpose of his neighbours.

Gentlemen, get together this local pride and local faith and from it build a great and permanent edifice of national pride and national faith. Put to shame the narrow-thinking politicians who cannot see beyond the size of a party majority of half a dozen years age. Let this "Win the War" convention, this "Do our Duty" convention, be such an inspiration of national devotion and unselfishness that the echoes of its resounding determination ringing across half the world shall bring further fear even to the council chambers of Berlin. By its inspiration let Ottawa be uplifted, encouraged and ennobled until selfishness shall seem so sordid and so petty that it shall be allowed no place in our government. Canada ! That is the name in which I am asking you to act. Canada ! The land which by you, by us, by our people can be made to mean as much for courageous democracy as Great Britain means for accomplishment, Belgium means for martyrdom or noble France for devotion.

Gentlemen, Canada is at the parting of the ways. If you think of Canada not as a nation, but as a colony, not yet grown to man's estate, you can truly say that Canada has done well in this war. If it be not Canada's duty to undertake a full share and a full responsibility, but merely to lend a helping hand to the motherland which must assume the whole burden of the Empire, you may well rest contented. But if you believe, as I believe, that Canada is a nation, the equal among other nations, which go to make up that confederation for civilization known as the British Empire, if you believe that Canada is out of leading-strings and can decide for herself upon her own responsibility, if you believe that it is Canada's destiny to be one of those democracies which after this war has been won shall determine that such a war shall never again be allowed to take place, if you have a vision of the destiny of Canada, you cannot be satisfied with what Canada has done, you cannot yet say that Canada has done well. In such case you cannot rightly say that Canada has done well so long as there remains a single thing that Canada might do which Canada has not done or is not doing. Do you realize that Canada is the only one of the Allied Nations—if with me you regard Canada as one of the Allies—which is not to-day living on a war basis ? Are you content that of all the Allied Nations Canada alone shall have escaped the full burden that the others have undertaken, alone shall be living as she was living before the war, alone shall be free from the universal obligation of daily and hourly service ?

Gentlemen, I entreat you to ponder these things that I have said to you very deeply, and if you believe that I am right to act in accordance with your convictions. It is not to-morrow but to-day that we must sweep the films away that cloud our vision, it is to-day and not to-morrow that we must determine that this Canada of ours shall render in this war all the service that the man-power and the resources of the country make possible. It is what we do now that is to decide the future of our land, whether we are to become a great and powerful nation with a tradition which shall be an inspiration to our descendants, or whether from now on we shall be satisfied to drift comfortably along the easiest way, drugged with lethargy, and apathetic to the vision, the glory of noble service.

A vote of thanks was heartily carried.

CANADA'S PLACE IN WORLD POLITICS

AN ADDRESS BY REV. CHARLES AUBREY EATON, D.D., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 1, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It always moves me profoundly to find myself facing a Canadian audience. The first time I ever knew a Scotchman to be mistaken was when your President told you I was born in New Brunswick. He was not there at the time, so we will have to excuse him : I was born in Nova Scotia.

I am immensely pleased to see so many old friends here to-day. Years ago when I was a pastor in this city, I had the honour and privilege of being associated in a very humble capacity with Sir John Willison when he was the editor of one of the leading journals here—I believe it was the *Globe*. Being on the *Globe* he greatly felt the need of some religious instruction, so he looked around for a religious coadjutor and considered Dr. Briggs first of all, but thought he was altogether too orthodox, so he asked me to furnish religion for the *Globe* ; which I did in large quantities, but I never could see that it took with the Editor, and I had to abandon the job before it was completed. MacDonald has since been furnishing religion for the *Globe*, and, being a Presbyterian, he is taking a good while at it ; but I hope that the *Globe* will eventually reach the rare religious heights occupied by the *News* and other Toronto publications.

I have been anticipating giving this address with fear and trembling because having admitted my birth in Nova Scotia, it naturally follows that modesty is the chief characteristic that afflicts me ; and fear of my fellow men was stamped upon me early in life.

Gentlemen, I feel that any man who undertakes to discuss topics such as the one I have chosen to-day assumes a tremendous responsibility. I have the honor of being President of the Canadian Society of New York, and it is composed of as fine a group of men as this is, and in saying that I am paying our American Society a very high compliment indeed. The fundamental platform upon which we stand is that we are to act as mediators between the Homeland, Canada, and the great Republic. Our hope is that we may have some humble part in bringing to pass the day when the great English-speaking races shall once more stand shoulder to shoulder, united in some workable form of federation for the uplifting of the standard of liberty and democracy throughout the world.

I have believed since earliest childhood that no matter how separated through the exigencies of political strife the different branches of our race may have become, the day will eventually arrive when all men whose souls are stirred by the great ideals that had their birth in Saxon history will have to stand together in the interest of these great principles which must lie at the basis of a re-builded world.

I have come to-day to speak to you upon a great theme : "Canada's Place in World Politics After the War."

This war has cast a searing light into the souls of the nations. It has revealed Germany as not even Germans thought that she was. It has revealed England, too, but more especially has it revealed this beautiful Canada of ours. Who would have dreamed, for instance, that these dear boys who went about the fields and farms and villages and cities, enjoying their sports and social relationships and discharging their ordinary duties—these magnificent young Canadians—were the heroes of the ages ? Who would have ever dreamed that this nation, with its desire for peace and its simplicity of life would, in one short year, leap into the notice of the world as the herald and banner bearer of world freedom and of world unity ?

The war has revealed three great fundamental facts concerning the general history of mankind. The first is that democracy, in the sense of the spiritual unity and equality of men is the ultimate end towards which the historical process is tending. I believe that the day is coming, not within your life or mine, but in the distant future, when every man and every woman in the world will assume responsibility to the fullest extent of their powers for all the obligations, social, political and economic, which surround them at that time ; and I am glad to see that Ontario has recognized this trend, and is now giving to the women what is their just due, the right to exercise the function of the franchise.

The second great reality which lies at the basis of all life, and has been revealed by this war, is the fact that freedom is worth all it costs in blood and treasure. I thank God that every drop of blood in my veins is Saxon blood. I should be ashamed, no doubt, of saying that before a Scotch President, but the Scotch are just as Saxon as we are. There is something in the men who live under the British flag that loves liberty ; and no matter how broken in our spiritual life we may have become, when the test really faces us, the great majority of the people of our breed would rather die free than live slaves, and we know the meaning of words when we make that statement. And this is why that great sacrifice, that great unnecessary sacrifice of the fairest sons of the world has been laid upon the altar :—To buy for mankind that priceless thing we call freedom. That is what is going on, as I see it, in the world to-day. It is the same thing that was fought out on the battlefields of England and in the American Revolution and the American Rebellion ; the same thing that we strove for from the beginning in Canada—Freedom.

We now come to the third great principle that has been unveiled, which is the fact that the soul is the man, and the soul is the nation. We have been given over to a sort of trifling and mechanical form of religion. We have thought of life as something separate and distinct from the message of the spirit, and have built up our great political and economic institutions as if they were something to be attended to on week days and totally distinct from the worship of God on the Sabbath. We have discovered that the soul is the man and nothing else is the man ; that the soul is the nation and nothing else is the nation; and we are placing these great realities that lie at the base of all life as a proposed foundation for permanent democracy.

These are the great mountain peaks of human consciousness that have been revealed by this war.

This Dominion has been thrust into the very front rank of the war, and one of the things that has been borne in upon our consciousness is that we cannot go back. We are out on the wild and stormy sea of universal relationships. We have become a world power and have taken our place amongst other craft sailing on the troubled waters of world politics : and for us there is no retreat. We must order our future domestic institutions in the blazing light of these international relationships. Henceforth no Canadian can be a parochialist. He must be a citizen of the world and believe in the common destiny of mankind, and strike with an iron hand at all those influences which divide men and nations from each other ; and exert the utmost force of his being to advance the principles of universal justice, right and truth.

The Canadian nation, in my judgment, will become a powerful factor in world politics. It is very rash to prophesy, but one man's prophecy is as good as another's, and as far as a minister's prophecy, well, people are accustomed to accept it whether they believe it or not.

Canada will exercise a tremendous influence on world politics as a part of and by means of her connection with the British Empire.

When I was a boy in Canada I used to grieve over the absence of that spirit of nationhood which was lacking in those early days. Well do I remember the night the news came to Toronto that Pretoria had fallen, for then I witnessed, and you witnessed, what seemed to me to be the birth of Canadian nationalism ; a consciousness that we were a part of the great family of nations. And when I saw the leading citizens of this city beating tom-toms throught the streets, and the half of them—well, no, I would not say drunk, but "lit up"—I felt it was a serious drawback that my profession excluded me from associating myself completely with the general rejoicing—I realized then the birth of a national spirit which up to that appeared to have lain dormant in our consciousness.

Gentlemen, you cannot have a nation except through the travail and pain of sacrifice. There is nothing great in the world that can be bought at a cheap price, and that is why I consider pacifism *per se* to be a delusion and a snare. The pacifist thinks you can get results that are a power in life without sacrifice. It cannot be done. In proof, I look upon Canada now finding her destiny as a world servant in and with the British Empire.

In the second place, I believe it will be Canada's duty as a world servant to live in the strictest accord with her own principles and her own past. I believe that Canada is as true an example of democracy as the world contains, and democracy is the key to the future. I believe Canada is as successful an experiment in the federal idea as the world contains ; and Canada must stand for the great principle of federalism ; for it is that principle which must be tested on a world scale after the war is over, and Canada has the proud distinction of being fully prepared ; for she has been a federal experiment under the most difficult and adverse conditions fifty years. I believe that Canada's destiny as a world servant in world politics will be along the line of applying the federal principle, which she has worked out with such pain and cost, to world relations.

Then I think Canada can best fill her place as a world power by conserving her own resources, for as I look across the line and see over here the identical problems which have confronted the great republic for so long, I say it is the duty of every patriotic Canadian citizen to study well the conditions in the republic and to avoid the mistakes which the great republic has made. I understand there is a movement to fill this country up after the war with alien immigrants. I would consider that an unmitigated calamity, and I hope Canada will have no one but Canadians in it, and I cannot see how you can produce Canadians except you take plenty of time. You have to digest the mass you bring in, and therefore I would see to it, if I were you, that only picked men, whose souls are in attune with the soul of Canada, be allowed to come in here and take part in the life of the nation. Otherwise, when you think you are a nation you will discover you are a house divided against itself, and if history teaches anything it teaches us that a house divided against itself cannot stand. If you have an ulcer in your national heart, if you have a division of race or ideal or character, you cannot go on permanently to build your institutions. You must face the actual conditions of your nation and remove the divisive element so that you will be one in heart and allegiance, as you must be one in destiny.

The other day, at the Bankers' Club in New York,—you may be surprised that I should be there? I was getting a free lunch—I was talking with an ex-Canadian who is a great expert in doctoring sick corporations. This gentleman informed me that he had recently been visiting the Pacific Coast for the purpose of studying the forests of Canada, and he said to me : "Please tell the Canadians when you go over there that they have an empire's resources in their western forests and they are handling them like damn fools." Now, he was not a member of my church, but that is what he said. I have not the slightest notion what that adjective means, but it seems to have evoked a responsive chord here.

You have almost unbelievable resources in the natural power of your waterfalls. Those ought to belong to and be administered in the interests of all the people. The man with the little factory who employs a dozen men should have as free access to the natural power in the possession of this nation as the man with the large factory employing ten thouand men. The waterfalls should be regarded in the same light as the public highways and railroads, free to all.

You have enormous resources in your forests, and particularly in your pulpwood. They should be carefully tended by experts without regard to party or individual politics, so that when the time comes the great Canadian people of the future will rise and call you blessed because you have discharged your obligations to posterity. I would like to see this great nation with its unlimited resources placed in such an economic position that posterity will be able to realize the highest expression of democracy. Therefore if Canada is to play her true part in the world she must gird up her loins and determine to avoid the mistakes of extravagance, selfishness and inefficiency which the democracy of the United States has fallen into one generation in advance of you.

I come to the last point which I wish to make to-day, and it is that Canada's place in the world is of peculiar importance to the United States because of the geographical position she occupies. I can speak without any prejudice because my family have lived in New England since the Mayflower. We have also lived in Nova Scotia for 150 years; so I think I have in my soul all the traditions of the British Empire and of New England.

The first piece I ever learned to speak in public was :—

"If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, and a foreign army were entering my country, I would never lay down my arms—never ! never ! never !"

Then I learned Patrick Henry :—

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery ? Forbid it, Almighty God ! I know not what course others may take ; but, as for me, give me liberty, or give me death."

When I looked into the face of Abraham Lincoln I thought I saw there the spiritual ancestry of my people of Saxon blood and Saxon speech, for his roots were in the British Nation through his ancestry of New England.

So I feel, gentlemen, that I can speak as a member of the one great English-speaking family, and my ideal is to see the day when the breach which occurred 150 years ago shall be healed, and these two mighty nations holding the destiny of the world in their grasp, shall swing in shoulder to shoulder and unite in some form of federation in the common service of that liberty and justice upon which our nations are builded.

Canada occupies a position of grave responsibility because, in the first place, Canada is understood by, respected by and trusted by the British Empire and the United States equally. I wish that you knew the different attitude towards Canada which has come over the American people, especially in the east, in these last two years. I stood in Times Square the day the battle of Ypres was fought and watched the reports. There were thousands of people packed as far as the eye could see, and as those reports were put out moment after moment and hour after hour, telling of that wonderful, marvellous, divine heroism of the boys of my native land, I looked over that crowd and saw the tears running down their cheeks and the roar of their cheering could be heard across the Hudson. What was it ? The great truth that blood is thicker than water, that brotherhood is of the soul, and that, when men are born by the same mother, they must unite in time of trouble.

I want you to try to understand and to be patient with the United States. There are many of us that have found it pretty hard during these last two years to restrain ourselves. I was on the St. Louis—which is now "interned" in New York Harbour—during her maiden voyage. She had a maiden captain and he got us in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean on the 4th of July and held a 4th of July meeting and rose and made a speech that was the most abominable production I have ever heard outside of some of my own. A United States Senator who was sitting beside me became so disgusted that he went out and he was followed by a gentleman from Colorado. Presently I thought I would go and when I reached the deck I walked over to the rail where the gentleman from Colorado was standing ; but before I could address him he looked off towards the horizon and then up to the sky, took a long breath, and began to swear. Being a preacher I have heard some profanity in my time but that certainly was the most complete and artistic handling of a case that I have ever listened to. I heard him with a sort of awe in my soul and when he got through I went over and said : "Thank you, sir, the ethics of my profession forbid me to do justice to this occasion, but I must say that I think you have filled the bill."

Well, many of us in the United States have felt like that during the last two years, but I want you to understand the situation. In the United States there is a substratum of Anglo-Saxon ideals, principles, laws, language and institutions. The foundations of the Republic of the United States are identical with the foundations of Canada, the only difference being that Canada did not break with her historical past, while the United States did. Our public life is ill-nourished for the lack of deep roots in the past. With that difference, the fundamental principles and ideals of American life are identical with those of Canada. Now, over that nation has flowed an avalanche of races, creeds and ideals, until it is necessary to dig deep down to discover the fundamental Americanism on which the nation rests.

We did not believe that a great war was possible, and if it did come we did not believe that it would affect us ; for we were saturated with the belief that the United States could live its great life without any entangling alliance with the rest of the world. When the war lit the whole world with its terrible gleam, half of the American people awakened from their stupor and leaped in response to what was going on. Our President, representing all the people, was elected by little more than half, and the half that elected him live in the west and middle west, far away from contact with the outer world, and still ignorant of the fact that half the world is in a death grapple for freedom.

The President issued his neutrality proclamation and I meditated about it for a month or so and then made up my mind that he had asked the American people to commit a moral wrong—for I do not believe there is such a thing as neutrality on a moral issue, and if there ever was a moral issue fought out since the dawn of time that issue is being fought out upon the battlefields of Europe at this moment. So I got up and said I was not neutral. I wanted my children to remember that I was not neutral. I do not want them to be neutral and I did not think that the American people could be neutral in thought unless they were hypocrites. Mr. Root, Mr. Choate and many others said what they should have said under the circumstances, and so, while we were officially neutral, the people of the republic as individuals began to express their true sentiments.

Now we have reached the point where we are embarrassed by the most skilful and remarkable propaganda which the world has ever seen. Twenty-five years ago John Hay pointed out to all Americans that if the emissaries of the Kaiser's Government came across the sea and won the German people of the United States away from their allegiance to their adopted land and bound them back to the Fatherland, our great Republic would be split in twain. But his warning was unheeded and that very process went on until this war started, when the brains and ability behind this propaganda were demonstrated in no uncertain manner. But the movement has failed for the simple reason that it went contrary to the fundamental attitude of the normal American life ; it failed and was destined to do so.

Gradually we worked along towards our present position. And now I want you to remember that Americans of all breeds and creeds are completely and passionately opposed to war as a method of settling disputes. I cannot at this time explain why, but the fact is that the American people are a pacifist people. Similarly the British nation was a pacifist nation. England was not prepared for war on land, and she, like us, had to fight that pacifist attitude on the part of her public, as well as the German influence. The English-speaking people are not a war-loving people. They want peace because that is now the normal condition for them. Where our Government has failed in holding its grip on the American people is not in its policy of pacifism. The difficulties surrounding Mr. Wilson have been most terrific. No President of the United States ever faced such conditions before, and Mr. Wilson is deserving of the highest admiration for having come through as well as he has. But the thing that has angered and disturbed and outraged the masses of Eastern Americans is that the Government has revealed in its public utterances and actions not the slightest moral re-action to the great moral issue across the seas.

Now we are inching along and I think that America will yet stand up before the world and show that in spite of the terrific internal conditions which must be met, in spite of the sectional divisions north and south, east and west, and the racial and economic divisions, that America at heart is as sound as any other portion of the English-speaking world, and that by and by we shall have welded our diverse elements into such a unity that our Government can speak for a united land. I have to say that I am firmly convinced of the loyalty of the majority of the German people in the United States to the country of their adoption should Germany and America enter into war with each other. They have been hoodwinked and bedevilled by that militaristic cult across the seas, but up to that time they were among the very noblest of our American people.

I have reached the end of what I had to say. I rejoice and thank God for this day of testing and of pain. I know that war is a horrible thing. I can realize something of the scars it leaves in human hearts and the awful unsettling of established institutions ; but when I see the glorified souls of men, purified and set free in the baptism of pain and suffering ; when I see the soul of this, my native land, and of the other great warring nations purified and gloriously responding to the universal appeal of the great principles of democracy, then it is, I think, that just as the salvation of men was worth the sacrifice of the Son of God upon the Cross, so the salvation of men from slavery, the bringing of men out of the bleak and dead land of Materialism and social indifference into the haven of spiritualism and social liberty—is worth the pain and sacrifice of this war. And we must see to it, we Canadians and Americans and all men who speak the English tongue, that this great sacrifice be not in vain.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

THE RESEARCH COUNCIL AND ITS WORK

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR A. B. McCALLUM, PH.D., SC.D., LL.D., F.R.S.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 8, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—When I addressed the Empire Club on a previous occasion, on the subject of the Research Council, I used the opportunity presented to me of dwelling on the work and aims of that body, in general terms only, because, with the responsibilities at the time so recently assumed, I did not venture to be explicit or definite for fear that I might, by wrongly anticipating not only our hopes, but also our achievements, prejudice the position which the Council should occupy in the public mind. I intimated then to your Chairman that I would be prepared at some later date to discuss, perhaps more precisely, the functions and aims of the Council. It is in consequence of that intimation that I am to-day addressing you now on the same topic, for the purpose expressly of assisting in making the public understand what led to the establishment of the Research Council, what its position as a public body is, what it aims to do and what it has already done.

Before the Canadian Research Council was founded other Research Councils had been established and had been active in promoting their objects. The British Advisory Council was created in July, 1915, and it has already twenty months of existence. A similar Advisory Council for the Commonwealth of Australia was appointed in January of last year and it presented recently the report of its first year of activity. In the United States three bodies are now concerned in promoting preparedness, not only for war, but for the peace that may follow. One of these, The Advisory Commission of the National Council of Defence, which grew out of the Naval Consulting Board appointed two years ago, has already taken stock of all the industrial plant in the United States, that can be of service to the nation in war, and has lined up, in preparation therefor, all the national technological associations. A second body, the Committee of One Hundred of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, appointed to foster specially the industrial development of the nation, embraces in its membership a great many of the leaders in the army of researchers of the United States. There is the third organization, the National Research Council, appointed by the National Academy of Science early in 1916, and given a national and official position by the approval of the President of the United States.

These three organizations are now at work and, undoubtedly, one of the results of their activities will be, in the immediate future, a marked development of scientific research in its application to industrial development and a marked increase in the industrial output of the United States.

The Canadian Research Council was not called into existence too soon or too late. In the world crisis of to-day Canada has, industrially, a specially favoured position. We were, at the beginning of it, not wholly thrown on our own resources, industrial and natural, as Great Britain and Australia were. They found themselves at once cut off from the sources of their supplies in raw material in certain lines; and they were quite unprepared to undertake the manufacture of products of a vitally essential character which they previously imported from abroad, chiefly from countries now at war with them. They had to act, but they did not do so at once. The British Council was formed eleven months after the war began. The Australian Council came into existence seven months later still. We in Canada did not feel the urgency of action in this matter because we are side by side with a nation of one hundred million people, with resources largely developed, which so far has supplied us in very large part with what we formerly imported from Europe, and at prices which, though considerably enhanced, were not prohibitive. The urgency that existed in Great Britain and Australia did not, therefore, obtain with us, and, consequently, Sir George E. Foster, who had charge of the matter, took the position, which I think was wholly correct, that, before creating a Canadian Research Council, the results of the experience gained elsewhere should becare fully studied, and the conclusions drawn therefrom wisely applied in our case.

Hasty action might have led to a situation which it would be difficult to remedy, while delay has not involved any disadvantages, at least, that we can see, beyond the fact that the Council now formed has to acquire, more or less carefully, the particular experience and knowledge that our own Canadian needs render necessary for the solution of our problems in industry and science.

The Council, which began its existence three months ago, has so far performed its duties with a directness and an earnestness that promises much for its usefulness. It has organized itself and prepared for its work in a way that certainly is encouraging to not only its presiding officer, but also to Sir George Foster and the Committee of the Privy Council over which he presides, and with which the Research Council is associated.

Its duties are comprehensive. They include the direct encouragement and promotion of scientific and industrial research in Canada for the development and expansion of our industries, the co-operation and coordination of all the forces engaged in this object to prevent overlapping of effort, and the waste of money that might result from this overlapping; the direction of the man power for research in Canada, to the end that it may be utilized with the utmost effectiveness for the solution of the most practical and pressing research problems in our national industries.

To indicate these duties thus is to understate the magnitude of the labour the Council has undertaken. They involve, if they are to be performed successfully, a result which will effect a revolution not only in the industries of Canada, but, before everything else, in the attitude towards research of all those who are in any way concerned with our industries; of the Governments, Dominion and Provincial, with scientific bureaus and departments of our universities, and of public opinion to which Governments bow.

Hitherto in this country and, for that matter, also in Great Britain and the United States, the development of the technical and scientific processes, which are concerned in the expansion of the industries, has only in isolated instances been the intelligent concern of the State. The doctrines of leave-well-alone and of individualism have been worshipped as if they were the irrefragable principles of political wisdom, and, in consequence, the development of our industries was determined in great part, regardless of the proportions which should obtain between our needs and our resources. There was no concerted and co-ordinated action, and the industries of the country, with the exception in part of agriculture, were left to take care of themselves. They had resort to scientific methods, of course, but in the great majority these methods were of the practical kind, and research featured but a very small extent, because corporations engaged in industry and their managers were not advanced enough in their views to recognize that research is a factor and a very powerful one, in the development of a very large number of our industries. No stimulus came from Governments, because these, recruited almost wholly from a class whose training has been almost wholly other than scientific, could not get the necessary point of view.

The revolution in the attitude of the public has already taken place and our legislators have taken heed of it, but will the result remain after the cause of it has ceased to exist ? Will the public and Governments have the new point of view after the War is ended ? I am convinced that it will and for one very cogent reason, which is the enormous debt, $1,200,000,000, at least, which the country will have to carry when the war is over. This, with a dislocation of our industries, which will result on the cessation of the manufacture of war munitions, will impose on those guiding the destinies of our nation for the next two or three generations a concern and anxiety which will cause a decisive rejection of the old leave-well-alone policy, once so popular in all Anglo-Saxon countries. To meet even the interest on this huge debt will require a care of our national industries, and a utilization of our resources, that we have never shown in the past. The situation will be accentuated by the conditions that will prevail elsewhere. The debt of the belligerent nations of the world, as a result of this war, will be over $100,000,000,000. Helfferich, the German Minister of Finance, estimated that so far it is $75,000,000,000. This is a colossal burden. It equals the total of the national wealth of Germany and Austria; and the higher estimate approaches closely the amount of the national wealth of the British Empire. It will involve an annual charge, perhaps, for a century to come, of $5,000,000,000 a year. To meet this the nations will have to economize, work, in fact, strain all their energies to carry the staggering load. To ease it or to lessen it, each nation will strive to speed up its labour, increase its manufactured exports, and compete advantageously with its rivals in the markets of the world. To do all this successfully, the highest skill, the most advanced knowledge will be employed and the competition that will prevail will be the keenest the world has every known or, perhaps, will ever know. Science will be fostered and research, not only in pure science, but in its applications, will be promoted as it has never been before.

What chance will Canada have of holding her own or of forging ahead in this after-the-war struggle, if she does not employ the most advanced, the most approved methods in her industries; and to this end cultivate research, and train researchers, who will place at her command the utmost that human ingenuity can devise in science or its application ?

To ask this question is to suggest the answer, and I am confident that after the war and for many years to come the old casual policy, the let-well-alone attitude will not obtrude itself in the direction of the affairs of the nation.

I am not one of those who believe that the nation should be governed by experts, or even by philosophers, as postulated by idealists. The cause of this war is, in my opinion, to be found in the fact that Germany has put the idealists' theory into practice, and, in consequence, every one of its departments of State is manned by experts who neglect and have neglected every consideration except those which will tell in effecting the object immediately in view. Statesmanship comprehends something more than that. It gives place to the forces of prudence, the principles of humanity, the ethics and the wisdom that have been developed by man in the long and weary journey from barbarism to the higher civilization of to-day. Had German statesmanship of the highest order been in command and assisted, but not dominated, by experts, the history of the last three years would have been absolutely different.

It is certain that our system of government will continue unchanged because, on the whole, it is best suited to give play to all the forces that ensure civilization and human happiness; but a system freed wholly from *laisser faire* tendencies, and willing to be guided, but not directed, on its executive side by experts; and that the needs of the near future, and especially those that will be concerned in the world struggle, will be met in this way.

This is the significance of the situation on which I am dwelling to-day. Expert knowledge is to be utilized as it has never been utilized in Canada, and for this purpose the Research Council was created. It is to be noted that it is a Council, not a Commission, and that this postulates that it is an advisory body only, as, indeed, the name "Advisory" in its title somewhat redundantly signifies. Its acts are valid only when the appointing body, the Privy Council, approves and, consequently, its executive functions are of the lightest character and involve the gathering of data, and the concentration of the best scientific opinion in the country for the service of the Government.

The Research Council has been engaged in this work for three months already and it has already made a report to the Government on its activities. It has discussed the question of undertaking two experiments which concern two of the important natural resources of the Dominion. One of these, the lignites of the Western plains, is not utilizable to any extent in its natural form, owing to the large percentage of water which they contain and which cause them to weather rapidly after extraction from the mine. The needs of the West in the matter of fuel are very urgent. Anthracite coal is obtainable in Saskatchewan and Manitoba at prices higher than obtain anywhere else on this Continent, ranging from $10 to $12 and more a ton; while in these Provinces and in Alberta there is an enormous amount of lignite deposit, which, even when utilized as requirements may demand, will last for hundreds, perhaps for thousands of years. Attempts have been made elsewhere to use similar lignites by driving off the moisture and the gas which they contain, and utilizing the tar that is collected to bind the residue, which may thus be compressed in the form of briquettes. The employment of this method in the West has not so far been attended with success, but it is believed that they can be so utilized, provided the right methods are employed. The Research Council has made certain recommendations to the Privy Council Committee on Industrial and Scientific Research as to the way in which this problem may be solved, in order to demonstrate that lignites, appropriately treated, are much cheaper than and quite as efficient as high grade coal. What the line of attack on this problem may be, I cannot say, for the recommendations are now before the Privy Council Committee, but action will be taken, I believe, in the next few months, so that the experiment will be completed before a year is over.

If, as the Council believes, it will be demonstrated that the cost of briquetted lignites is much lower than the price of high grade coal per ton, an enormous service will be done to the public in those Provinces.

The Research Council has given consideration also to the question of studying forest growth. Our forests, unless care be taken, will be depleted before even we have the data on which to base any effort to prevent this depletion. The cutting down of our forests exceeds, apparently, the natural growth, but it is necessary that we should know all the factors that are involved in this growth.

The Forestry Association of Canada and the Forestry Department of the Dominion have recommended to the Research Council the undertaking of these studies on forest growth and the Council has presented to the Privy Council Committee the results of its deliberations on the subject. Action will doubtless be taken at an early date, with the view of getting accurate data as to forest growth, in order to be prepared to take measures to conserve our forest wealth.

This problem, like that on the lignites, is very urgent, and the Research Council has placed it in the front rank for the moment.

There are, however, other questions upon which the Council is taking time to formulate its point of view. These are the potash question, the phosphate question and the electric fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. The potash question has for the moment an enhanced position. For years before the war practically all the potash in this country came directly or indirectly from the Stassfurt beds in Prussia. The supply there is an enormous one, and easily mined and prepared for the market. The price was low and, consequently, the Stassfurt potash displaced potash from all other sources of supply of thirty to forty years ago. To-day the Stassfurt supply is cut off and, in consequence, we have to look round for the potash that must supply our agriculture, and must be supplied as a fertilizer and for our arts and industries. We have very great quantities of minerals in our country which contain from 8 to 11 per cent. of potassium. These minerals are in a more or less insoluble and unusable form as they exist, but by methods of manipulation the potassium in them can be obtained, and it is a question whether the potassium from this source can be obtained in an economic way.

The same may be said with regard to the phosphates. There are large quantities of phosphate-holding mineral in Canada. As phosphates are used as fertilizers, it is necessary to consider whether the Canadian phosphates should not be investigated to produce a product which would compete with the phosphates from Florida, where the grade is high and the cost of production is very low.

As to the fixation of nitrogen, I desire to call your attention to the map which is here displayed. It is intended to demonstrate the water power of the Dominion. You will note that where the lignites are scantiest there is an abundance of water power. In fact, there is no other country on the globe in which the amount of water power, possibly, is so extensive. The utilization of this water power may be in three directions :

1. For the supply of energy to run our industries.

2. To furnish what is known as "white coal," and

3. To convert the absolutely inexhaustible supply of nitrogen in the atmosphere into fixed nitrogen, available for fertilizing our soils and to produce nitric acid and ammonia.

The utilization of the water power for supplying energy to our industries is now being solved in many parts of the Eastern portion of our Dominion; but the question of the conversion of water power into electrical energy for use in heating has not yet been brought to an economic, practical stage. The utilization of electrical energy from the same source for the fixation of nitrogen, except in one particular line, has not advanced to a point where economic action can be taken.

The solutions of these two questions are all-important for Canada, and it is probable that our Research Council may attempt to help in reaching the solutions desired.

Let me point out that, once these two questions are solved, there will be achieved an all-important change in our industrial life. We import enormous quantities of coal from the United States and production from that source, having reached its maximum, will in the next few years begin to show a decrease. Indeed, it is already doing so, and we shall have to depend for heating either upon the coal of Nova Scotia or upon electrical energy from our water supply. There is the possibility, also, that the United States may place an embargo on the export of its coal, in which case Eastern Canada would be placed in a difficult position, if there was nothing to supply its place.

It is, therefore, urgently important that the studies on the utilization of our water power for the production of electrical energy should be fostered to the utmost extent.

May I point out that for Canadian agriculture the production of potash, phosphates and fixed nitrogen is to be the problem of the near future.

As to the world's supply of fixed nitrogen, it is estimated that in 40 or 50 years the Chilean beds of saltpetre will be exhausted. The world must then turn to the nitrogen of the atmosphere to get its supply of fixed nitrogen, and the nation that has the largest supply of water power will be the leading producer of fixed nitrogen compounds that are necessary in agriculture and arts. You can, therefore, see what an important bearing our enormous water power has upon the future of our industries.

There are a number of other problems which the Council has undertaken to consider and the solution of which they will attempt to furnish, or assist in furnishing. I need not dwell upon these, because they do not stand in the foreground at the moment.

One of the most important functions of the Research Council is that of the promotion of research in Canada.

This research is not to be wholly industrial. It is to be in pure science also. I often think that the line of separation between pure and industrial research is only a matter of name, or a point of view. It is, as I have on a previous occasion pointed out, impossible to prophesy whether a principle in pure science will be inapplicable to industrial advancement. An illustration, which I have in mind just now, gives this emphasis. Up till four or five years ago the principle in physics, that we call "surface tension" was a pure laboratory concept. It was difficult to conceive that it would ever have any industrial application. Physicists, physical chemists and biochemists concerned themselves with it and made investigations upon it, with results which seemed to have only a purely scientific bearing; but it has now found an application which has already revolutionized certain milling and ore-separating processes. In many ores silica, or waste rock, preponderates, and to utilize such minerals economically involves the separation in a convenient way of the two elements of the ore.

Up till a few years ago attempts to separate them were made by means of gravity in water. The rock was ground into a fine powder and the powder treated with water which carried off a proportion of the silica powder, or gangue, as it is called, and left the ore-containing part to sediment. The water, however, carried away not all the silica, and it carried with it also a portion of the mineral, which was thereby lost. Three or four years ago it was found that by putting into the water, separating the two products of the milling process, a small quantity of oil, and agitating, a large amount of foam was produced which carried in it from 80 to 90 per cent. of the mineral and contained, practically, none of the gangue, or silica.

This process (now called the "flotation process") was very soon employed as an industrial process and is being used in the United States in a large number of mining plants. It is utilized to-day at Cobalt and nearly half of the ore, which is turned out in that locality, is now so treated. Through it ores, which were not considered of economic value, are now being treated and yield a very high return, not only in the form of output, but in very satisfactory dividends. It concerns ores like the sulphide of lead, zinc, copper, antimony, cobalt; and the process is used also in the separation of silver and gold from the rocks bearing them.

The principle involved is surface tension, the force that rounds a drop of water, or a drop of mercury, or a drop of any melted element. It is the force that concerns the formation of a soap bubble, of the froth on water, it is the force that involves or determines the distribution of salts in the body and it constitutes many of the forces of living matter.

I have concerned myself in my practical studies with this principle a great deal during the last ten years: and I would have been very slow to predict that it could ever be utilized in such a fashion as that now involved in the "flotation method" of ore separation.

I predict the extension of this process to a degree that is likely to enhance the industrial utilization of a large supply of our minerals, that are now supposed to be economically valueless. One can hardly, however, predict what transformations this flotation process will undergo in the next few years, but I should like to ask you to remember that it is at present only in the incipient stage of its utilization.

Now, the fostering of research in this country must be systematically undertaken. The Council desires to develop research and to do so it must co-operate all the forces in the country to this end. It is useless to train the manual forces of the country without training the officers who are to lead. We hear much about manual training to-day, about what it will do for our industries. There is no doubt that manual training is very important, indeed, in furnishing a supply of skilled labour for our factories, concerned in turning out more or less special products, but if there are no leaders to promote the development of these industries, if there are none to guide the rank and file, how is it possible to develop our industries, as the conditions that now exist, or will exist when the war is over, demand? Managers of great business ability and of insight as to the conditions of labour and the market cannot and will not take the place that researches only will fill.

There were in Canada before the war not enough researchers to meet the needs which then prevailed. For the conditions which will obtain when the war is past there will not be enough to staff 10 per cent. of the industries that will require them.

There is current, I know, the opinion that every technologist in metallurgy, chemistry and physics is capable of carrying on research and achieving success in it. That opinion is, I know, also held by a very considerable number of the technologists themselves. Now, while paying the highest tribute to these because of their achievements in their calling, achievements in many instances of the highest distinction, I must say that the claim that technologists are necessarily research men is based on a misconception as to what research calls for. It demands in those who persistently follow it a special type of mind; representatives of which have always been more or less rare, and to which the progress of the race has been due. It led to the production of the first chipped flint in the Eolithic Age; it invented the wheel and the sail, it discovered the Arts, in their crudest form, of smelting, forging, weaving and husbandry in the early dawn of our civilization; and it is to-day as eager as ever, if opportunity allows, to explore the unknown and investigate the untried for the very peculiar reward, the mental satisfaction it gives, which can never be measured by any pecuniary or social standard. This type of mind is more or less what is known in biological terminology as a "sport," a special variant from the usual, and the number illustrating it in any generation must be very small, perhaps not more than one hundredth of one per cent. In the United States, with one hundred million of population, there are probably not more than ten thousand, all told, of such, and only a moderate proportion of these are in the ranks of the technologists of all classes.

The German Universities graduated every year before the war over 5,000 doctors of all classes, from each of whom was required achievement of a research on which special stress was laid. Of the 5,000 or more, about 3,000 were in the Scientific Departments. It has been maintained, and I am inclined to believe justifiably, that of this large number only about 6 per cent., or nearly 200, become permanently enlisted in the research class of the nation, to which all advance in German Science, pure and applied, is due. The remainder of the graduates, the vast majority, either become teachers in the Gymnasia and the Real Schulen, officials of the clerical class, or technologists of the routine type in industrial establishments. From the labours of these very rarely comes anything that makes for any advance in Science. They have not in their mental make-up the qualities which are necessary for a life of research, and it is these qualities that make their career very different from that of the members of the smaller class, the life-long researchers.

The universities of the United States and Canada have been turning out graduates in Science, who are of both classes, but those of the rarer mental type have been very few in number, and, consequently, progress along advanced industrial lines has not hitherto paralleled that of Germany. The other class, ineffectively trained for the most part, and encouraged by their teachers to regard themselves as capable of research, go into scientific positions in industrial plants where, however, their lack of research capacity and their knowledge of the theory of their science are their outstanding characteristics. One hears much criticism of these from industrial managers who stigmatize them as "theorists," thereby indicating how much they are valued.

Our universities have not hitherto made a systematic effort to find and train those who might become researchers of the permanent type. They have been engaged in the problems of their own development, in meeting the immediate educational needs of the parts of the Dominion which they severally serve, and, consequently, the cultivation of research and the training of researchers have not been a very important part of their activities. Nor will these enter more largely into their object unless they can be induced, in the national interest, to make a special and sustained effort to encourage those who have the research capacity to enter on that career.

The Research Council, in order to stimulate our Canadian Universities to promote this end, has provided twenty Studentships of $600, to be awarded this year to University graduates or others who have the required training therefor, and who, more especially, have the capacity for advancing Science or its application by original research. The holders of such Studentships may receive them a second year, provided the research work they do in the first is wholly satisfactory to the Research Council. In addition to these Studentships, five Fellowships of $1,000 each are to be awarded to those who have shown a very high capacity for research on some problem, the extension of which is of importance to the national industries of Canada. The holders of these Fellowships may receive them for a second year on the score of having done excellent research work in their first year of tenure.

The Research Council believes that these Studentships will very greatly stimulate recruiting for the Research Legion in Canada. They will certainly in the years to come attract to a research career many young people of great capacity and endowed with those qualities of mind which are essential in a life devoted to research, and who, when their training in research is completed, will find in the scientific development of our industries a career which in intellectual satisfaction, as well as in the more material reward it gives, will by no means fall short of their ambition to achieve and attain. In a few years there will be a very considerable number of these in the service of the industries.

These Studentships and Fellowships will accomplish another not less important object. They will revolutionize our Canadian Universities. These have hitherto, as already stated, not put research in the front of their programme; but under the competition which these Fellowships and Studentships will offer, they will gradually, if not very soon, change their whole point of view and endeavour to develop research as a cardinal aim in their activities. What this fully signifies, only those who have paid careful attention to the subject understand, but I may say that it will profoundly enhance the usefulness of the Universities to our young nation in its efforts to develop all its resources to the utmost.

Is not all this, that I have outlined as the work and aim of the Research Council, an object worthy of the fullest attainment ?

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

THE PRUSSIAN MIND

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D., ETC.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 15, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Not long after the beginning of the war I asked a German (now deceased) in the United States with whom I had long been acquainted—I thought I knew him, but this proved to be a mistake—to let me know the best and most approved works by his countrymen concerning the causes of the war. He gave me the names of several; I procured them all and read them with care more than once.

The self-exhibition of the Prussian mind made in these books is so striking that it seemed to me that a Canadian audience might welcome some account of it. Accordingly when I was asked to address this Club, I determined to say something to you based upon the reading recommended by my German acquaintance.

Let me begin by saying that by profession a Judge, I have tried to enter into the mind of the Prussian intelligently—I have (at least, as an intellectual exercise) endeavoured to "think Germanically." The result has been in my case as it was in the case of many others, neutral and belligerent: as I have in substance said elsewhere:

"I find it impossible even to follow the reasoning of some of these apologies. To show that I am not singular in this incapacity, let me quote what has been recently said of and by Charles Francis Adams, an American of the Americans, a real statesman and a scholar of the highest type. In the New York *Evening Post* I find the following (written immediately after his death): 'He was intensely alive to all that was going on in the world. Needless to say, the European war set all his fibres tingling. His general position of hostility to the Germans was made known in letters to the English press. They were naturally more restrained than his personal talk and correspondence. From a private letter written by him no longer ago than March 13, the following characteristic passage may be taken ; it was Mr. Adams' comment upon the assertion that Americans do not understand Germany because they "cannot think like Germans" :

' "Suspecting this in my own case, I have of late confined my reading on this topic almost exclusively to German sources. I have been taking a course in Nietzsche and Treitschke, as also in the German *Denkschrift*, illumined by excerpts from the German papers in this country and the official utterances of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg. The result has been most disastrous. It has utterly destroyed my capacity for judicial consideration. I can only say that if what I find in those sources is the capacity to think Germanically, I would rather cease thinking at all. It is the absolute negation of everything which has in the past tended to the elevation of mankind, and the installation in place thereof of a system of thorough dishonesty, emphasized by brutal stupidity. There is a low cunning about it, too, which is to me in the last degree repulsive." '

The book which I especially select for examination now is by a Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld of Berlin, and is entitled "Warum hassen uns die Voelker ?"—"Why are we hated by other Nations ?" The whole work is based upon the theory that the cause of the war was the hatred for the German people felt by others in Europe, and the plaintive enquiry is made : "Whence comes the hate of the foreigner against the German people ? Why are we hated notwithstanding that we are the attacked, notwithstanding that Right, Justice * and Humanity * stand on our side ?" "When in August of the present year one country after another threatened us with war, many German men and particularly German women were not a little astounded at the fearful hatred of Germany which unfolded itself before their eyes. Such a height of enmity, they had not expected against a people who they knew loved peace and work, abhorred cruelty and barbarity † and was conscious of no hatred towards other peoples."

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* The word which I translate "Justice" is "Maessigung," literally "Moderation." It is the quality of the mind, the disposition, which prevents one from pressing even his rights to an extreme, that of a calm and temperate soul, willing to give up its own rather than seem to be unfair. All the world will at once recognize a promient, indeed the prominent, Prussian characteristic.

That is the story—gentle, meek, humane, innocent Germany, desiring only to be left in peace at her honest toil, but hated without her fault by other nations—and that when nearly half a million subjects of the Empire were abroad at the beginning of the war. Why, actually the Press of Russia, England and Belgium brand that lovable people as Huns ! What can be the reason ?

The absurd theory is rightly rejected, that an explanation is to be found in the fact that the clothes of the Germans are displeasing to others, and the equally absurd ones that their too positive and impudent ‡ manners, their way of praising and blaming, their manner of wearing the mustache, a certain want of good form, of lovableness grating on the foreigner, are similarly rejected by the author. He rightly says that, granting all these defects, they might excite criticism and derision, but could never be a sufficient cause for national hatred and open war.

The Foreign Press has for a long time been sowing the poisonous seed of which the nations now are reaping the harvest ; the papers with the largest circulation are the most prominent in this shameful work. *Le Matin* and *Le Figaro* in Paris, *The Daily Mail* and

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* "Humanity" is "Menschlichkeit"—human feeling, so notably displayed in Belgium.

† "Greuel und Grausamkeit;" "deeds of horror and savage cruelty." Belgium does not require an explanation of the kind of deeds Germany said she abhorred.

‡ "Schneidig" means pert, self-confident, assertive, commercial-traveller-assurance-and-push-like ; the possessor looks upon his quality as a virtue, most others look upon it and him as a nuisance.

The Times in London, the *Novoie Vremya* in St. Petersburg, the *Messagero* in Rome, and the yellow press in North and South America sound the same note. Without deciding that most of these journals are in the pay of Anglo-French capitalists, as some maintain, the fact is that with very few exceptions every one in the world has for decades received his news from the Thames and the Seine ; and consequently he looks upon Germany not with his own eyes, but with the eyes of the English and the French.

The first important psychological basis for this extended hatred of Germany, is this artificial suggestion : it is no natural national sentiment, but an artificially fanned and nurtured hatred whose ravaging flames now burst out against the Germans.*

This suggestion produced a veritable national insanity in the outside world—a psychical epidemic like the superstitious belief in witchcraft which prevailed in Europe till the middle of the 18th century and to which millions of men fell victims. For "to-day, thanks to suggestion and psychical infection, millions of persons have fallen prey to insanity, a benevolent people is become malevolent; the most orderly, the most licentious; Germans, 'Vandals,' 'wild Hordes,' 'ravening beasts,' or, as an American newspaper sees fit to call them, 'the Apaches of the Nations.'" The author is righteously indignant at such calumnies and brings to mind the truth which Bismarck never in fact forgot, whatever he might say about talk not being companies or words battalions, namely, that a mighty force dwells in lead pencils as well as in lead bullets.

As in physical epidemics, the plague, cholera, etc., one can always trace the infection to some "carrier" or other, so in psychical epidemics there are a very few—often indeed only one—who are the carriers of the infection. But there is more than the "carrier" ; there is the producer of infection, the very germ of the evil.

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* The author conjures up from his own consciousness a perpetual and world-wide "Hymn of Hate," which no one outside of Germany had ever heard of and no one outside of Germany can even now discover.

And of the horrible spiritual epidemic of hatred against Germany, the principal germs are three—Suspicion, Jealousy, Misconception.* That the German people were not justly an object for suspicion the writer thinks obvious ; they were entirely misconceived and jealousy did its deadly work.

Dr. Hirschfeld now finds it necessary, in discussing "carriers," to distinguish three periods—before the war, at the outbreak of the war, and during the war.

Before the war the carrier was that encircling statesman † on the English throne who employed his short reign in yoking to his chariot one European and non-European nation after another, giving them the hypnotic suggestion that they were threatened by some evil by Germany—the fatherland of his own father, be it said incidentally. "And if now war is declared against us by people like the Russians and Japanese, who have never received anything but good from us, if from the most remote lands savage and semi-savage hordes have been summoned against us, peoples to whom even the name of Germany was as little known as the names of the Sikhs, Gurkas and Spahis were to most of our soldiers, we have to thank for it Edward VII., who, in union with Joseph Chamberlain, made the noose which at the proper time would be drawn and would strangle us." ‡ But even in England there was a saving remnant, for, after the decision had been made, "the fourth part of the Ministry, amongst them two of the most prominent, John Morley and John Burns, resigned that they might not be partakers in the blood-guilt of this insane war." *

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* "Misstrauen heisst der eine, Missgunst der andere, Missverstand der dritte." "Misstrauen" is distrust, suspicion, etc. "Missgunst" may be disfavour, envy, jealousy, ill-will, etc. "Missverstand" is misunderstanding, misconception, mistake, etc.

† "Einkreisungspolitiker," referring to the common German notion that King Edward VII. employed his whole time in planning and carrying into operation an iron ring round Germany.

‡ I have heard a Canadian, a citizen of Toronto, a gentleman with His Majesty's Commission of Colonel, say that he blamed King Edward for this war. I told him that I quite agreed with him ; that *this* war would not have been waged but for King Edward ; that the war we should have seen would have been a war with Britain and France disunited as in 1870, in which France would have been overwhelmed and destroyed, Belgium annexed, and then Britain's turn would come to fight single-handed.

Every Canadian, every Briton, every lover of democracy and civilization, may well say as I do—"Thank God for King Edward VII."

So much for before the war and at the time of its outbreak.

During the war England has exhibited the most remarkable national psychology. "Rightly are we angry at the web of lies which England has, through her Press, spread over the whole world. We can easily see that this, from her standpoint, is simply the systematic use of a weapon of war, a stratagem, as it were. She knows quite well that we never can and never will equal her in the use of this Dumdum artillery—for many of these falsehoods operate like Dumdum bullets—the uprightness and rectitude † of the German character does not permit it." Listen to that, ye crooked and lying Britons ! Germans cannot lie and they would not plot in a neutral country—what liars the Americans are !

"The clearest example of what artificially induced fear, will bring about is afforded us by Belgium. That unwise conduct of Belgium at the outbreak of the war—those fanatical charges of Belgians against German settlers—that firing by civilians upon German troops from the rear—the wild flight of nine-tenths of its inhabitants out of Antwerp shortly before the Germans entered that city—all these can find an explanation only in the fact that to the ill-educated Belgians, the

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* I doubt if these two ex-Ministers are now proud of their action. Lord Morley's blood even in his aged veins must have been a thousand times moved by the heroism of his countrymen and the Hunnish horrors of the enemy, and he can now have no doubt of the propriety and necessity of the action of his fellow-ministers in declaring war. John Burns bitterly repented almost immediately, but he had made a fatal mistake and he was denied the honour of acting in a war cabinet. To his credit, however, be it said, that he threw himself into such work as he could do, and has nobly redeemed his temporary hesitation.

† "Geradheit und Aufrichtigkeit." "Geradheit" is literally "straightness," "Aufrichtigkeit," "uprightness."

German was painted in such a way as to fill their hearts with panic, terror and blind fear of death."

This requires no commentary. The world knows how that terror was justified to the full and horrors added which it had not entered into the heart of man to conceive. *Shrecklichkeit* intended to appal and terrorize the world, has but raised all humanity against its inventors and sole licensees. Germany can never raise her head again amongst the civilized nations till she has sincerely repented and put away the unclean thing from her treasures.

After gibing England for her silly fear of Zeppelins, the author gives another instance of induced insanity : "A long time before the war one read in a seriously meant and seriously named book, 'The Spies of the Kaiser,' that the 30,000 waiters in English hotels formed an army of spies" ; and this spyphobia resulted in many domiciled Germans being sent to concentration camps. The upright German is, of course, above spying in England, whatever he may be in the United States.*

In the perpetual recurrence to the villainies of England, the Doctor does not lose sight of France, "who hates us from the heart because the wounds still rankle which we inflicted on her in 1870-71."

But these wounds were healing and France was reconciling herself to the inevitable when England came and "bored deep the thorn into the old scar."

"And Russia ? Why do the Russian people hate us, that is, if they do really hate us ?" (for the gentle and kindly Berliner cannot bring himself to believe that the Russians *can* really hate the innocent Germans). "Because the ukase of the Czar commands it." But "why does the Czar hate us ? Because his entourage have suggested to him that it is his fate which he cannot escape to have a struggle for the mastery with Austria and Germany." That entourage, composed of mystics like Rasputin, unscrupulous (a lovely touch this !) Archdukes, creatures in the pay of England, persons jealous of the descendants of immigrant Germans.

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* A few days ago a Senator of the United States who is usually understood to speak for the Department of Justice, said there were more than a hundred thousand German spies in that country; and "if they do these things in a green tree what shall be done in a dry ?"

"Nothing in national life is so dangerous as the fatalistic thought that an explosion must come, if not to-day, then to-morrow—for many will think better to-day than to-morrow, and end the unrest and suspense....then the explosive spark."

Having thus disposed of Russia, the author asks himself on honour and conscience, "Did Germany before the war hate England, France and Russia ?" And the answer comes clear and unhesitating : "The overwhelming majority of the German people from Kaiser down treasured for England the most kindly * sentiments, for France feelings of sympathy, for the Russian people pity....with open arms we received English, French, Russian and Japanese like all other peoples....of bitterness, enmity, hatred of the foreigner, envy, not a trace."

But the writer cannot keep away from England—a veritable "King Charles' head" to him, as to all his countrymen. He tells us that, as she had conquered Spain with the aid of Holland in the 16th century, Holland with the aid of France in the 17th, France with the aid of Germany in the 18th and 19th, now it was the turn of Germany. "Envy, nothing else, is the root of this war ; all else is deception, conscious or unconscious. When we, through sheer necessity, must needs march through Belgium, after we had assured her (along with Luxembourg) an indemnity, England considered that she had to declare war against us ; that after she had on the principle 'Might goes before Right' subdued to her own rule one fourth of the population of the earth, she played the part of *Custos morum* † and guardian of virtue...." But one must be very credulous, indeed, to see in that the real cause of the war. "No ! the deeper one delves into the psychology of nations, the more clearly one sees that we are hated, not for our weaknesses, but for our strength ; far more do their virtues than their faults make the Germans disliked—not what there is in us to blame, but what there is in us to praise—our achievements and success were a thorn in the eye of our adversaries. Because Germany has become too great, England will make her small, and that is why now she puts other people, France and Russia, forward to fight for her, after her ancient fashion ; that is why Germany now sees the flower of her youth bleed in battle."*

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* "Verwandtschaftliche,"—"Such as are felt by sympathetic kinsfolk for each other."

† "Sittenrichter,"—"Censor or judge of morality." One can almost see the tear in the eye of the Brandenburger at the very thought of "Macht geht vor Recht" being used as a principle of international conduct.

Having satisfied himself of the actual cause of the war, the writer proceeds to investigate the objective foundation for this hideous envy in England's heart—the *fons et origo mali*.

He finds it in Germany's foreign trade, which twenty-five years ago was but half that of England and little more than that of France, but in 1914 was 85 per cent. of the English and more than 150 per cent. of the French. England nevertheless should not have complained, for while the German trade increased threefold the English doubled itself, and surely competition should not lead to a struggle for existence. The author then indulges in a long and boastful description of Germany's material progress and wealth, of the increase in population—"in the neighbouring country (France) the number of coffins, even in years of peace, overtakes the number of cradles" (that is irresistible) while on the contrary in Germany the births are more in number than the deaths by 800,000.

But particularly irritating was it to England that Germany began to contest her superiority on the water. Shortly after 1900 Germany wrested from England the blue ribbon for the swiftest Atlantic liner and then she produced the floating palaces *Imperator* and *Vaterland*. If Albion went crazy when the merchant steamers cut into her trade, what tongue can describe her frenzy when the great war fleet made its appearance ? Then follows what is to me the most amusing passage in this amusing book ; amusing for its naiveté, its utter innocence and incapacity to understand from any point of view other than the German. I translate almost literally and almost in full : "Upon still other fields the rivalry of Germany made itself felt by the English. A generation ago, the 'globe trotter' was known, of almost exclusively English growth; it was almost comical to see how for several decades now the travelling Englishman got out of the way of the Germans following him, and they did, in fact, follow him. When the Germans began to travel in Switzerland, the English set up their tents in the Riviera ; when this became the resort for Germans, the English turned themselves to South Italy. It was not long before the Germans appeared on the scene here also ; and then the 'ladies and gentlemen' struck for Northern Africa, especially Egypt, with ball and racket. But hardly had a few years passed before the German cousin bobbed up at the edge of the desert and the shores of the Nile ; and now the travel was to Ceylon, India and Japan, till at length the Englishman had to confess with a sigh of resignation that nowhere on the earth was it possible for him to escape his fate in the shape of a German."

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* The writer indulges here in a pun, "Darum blutet jetzt Deutschlandes Blüte." "The flower (bloom) of Germany now bleeds."

This is perfectly serious. The German has not the slightest idea that his presence is or can be offensive to "ladies and gentlemen" for reasons which are known to every one who has travelled with them or amongst them, and has seen and *heard* them dine—or feed. He sagely concludes : "If they (*i.e.*, the English) had more to find fault with in externals, they would have less internal chagrin."

He passes to other grounds of the foreigner's envy—science, civil order, Krupps, Zeppelin, the "Dr. Ingenieur"—and shows that order and freedom are the cardinal principles underlying the German system, and "he who loves order loves peace also." "It was precisely that open, honourable, often somewhat raw and harsh speech and demeanour of the Germans which helped to make them disliked, especially by the elegant French and the English, behind whose reserved composure and full dress smoking jacket, there hides more repression than in our apparent excess of regulations."* The frank and open candour of the German is so well known that we had no need of this eulogium. That he was often rude, raw, coarse, is intended to emphasize his blunt honesty, *vice* John Bull retired to stiff shirts and smoking jackets.

The openness of the German, his rigid adherence to the truth under all circumstances, is further brought out by the sententious "He who lies is not free," and there we may all agree with the author.

Then follow a long and flowery eulogium of the freedom of spirit and conscience in Germany, and a proper rebuke of the nations which sent Oscar Wilde to the treadmill. "There can be no dispute that English cant and dissimulation and German candour and thoroughness exhibit a difference of national sentiment hard to bridge over"—which leads one to say that it is an infinite pity that Oscar Wilde was sent to the treadmill rather than to Germany, for in that land he would have had an opportunity to exercise his "Offenheit und Grundlichkeit."

A long dissertation over the ignorance concerning Germany and the German people follows:—the "misunderstanding" with which we began †—the author passionately cries : "The German Empire, which our enemies believe they are fighting and the German Empire which they are really fighting are two fundamentally different things. Their hostility is against a nation of savages which does not in fact exist ; against a product of the imagination, against a phantom ; and for this phantom the flower of Germany and Austria will bleed and . . . . also the flower of the French, English, Belgian and Russian nations in battles whose horror [*] it transcends the power of language to describe." Now, after more than two and a half years of war, we on the other side know that the "phantom" is a grim and bloody reality, for we have known the hellish horrors which it perpetrates not only in battle, but in the peaceful villages and country.

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* One would almost think he could detect some trace of envy here, were it not that we know that to the Prussian, Berlin contains all the virtues and all the graces.

† It is a constant wail by these people that others do not understand them. The fact is that all the world knows them too well. Ask Belgium, ask the victims of the Zeppelin, ask the murdered victims in the *Lusitania*, ask Edith Cavell.

But, spite of all that her enemies may say, the truth remains—"Deutschland Kultureinheit," Germany a Kulturunit, a land of Kultur, one and indivisible—and there all may agree. The book ends with the words of Schiller :

> "What is there pure, holy, good in man,
> If it be not fighting for our Fatherland ?" [†]

Let no one imagine that this is intentional misrepresentation or simply pose. The Prussian is the product of more than forty years of sedulous training in the belief that he is the superman, his race the super-race, that what he desires is right because he desires it. His conduct is everything which is right and laudable because it is his conduct. He will give the name of old-fashioned virtues to his new-fangled vices ; and yet we must not say "new-fangled vices," they are as old as the bottomless pit of which they smell. His grotesque insistence on his nation being the chosen of God, naturally (with his swelled head) leads him to agree with his Kaiser that God is an ally, a junior partner in the firm.

I would quote here a passage from an English work recently published : [‡]

"We need be under no delusion as to the popularity of the Kaiser among his subjects. He is worshipped by them all, for he is their supreme ideal, the superman of the whole super-race of seventy million Germans. He preached 'shining armour' and 'mailed fists,' and his people firmly believed every word. 'Madman ?' Not much. He gave Germany a development in trade and wealth which was bigger than their wildest dreams. He drove up her birth rate. He typified their glorification of material force. He is, perhaps, the only living sovereign who could have deliberately signed the atrocious lie about the dum-dum bullets which he cabled to the President of the United States, and yet preserved the approval of his people. He announced himself as God's vice-gerent on earth and Germany as God's chosen nation. Germany was delighted. She thoroughly agreed. She believed in him right through, and she believes in him still, and she is practising with all her might the gospel he preached and made possible. For the ruthless militarism of Frederick the Great was developed to its highest point by his descendant."

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[*] "Hoellenschrecken,"—"hell-horrors," the superlative form of "Schrecklichkeit."

[†] "Was ist unschuldig, heilig, menschlich gut, Wenn es der Kampf nicht ist ums Vaterland ?"

[‡] "The mark of the Beast," by Sir Theodore Cook (London : John Murray), a book written since the beginning of the war.

In this Kaiser-worship, as in many other respects, the Germans are in much the same stage of development as the English centuries ago, when the king was almost deified.*

Not unlike the English of Elizabeth's time are the Germans in their lust for material advancement at the expense of other peoples, and they far overtop any generation of Englishmen in their inordinate self-esteem.

Another striking characteristic of the German mind is its childishness. Be it remembered that childishness and utter cruelty are quite reconcilable. The German cannot rid himself of the idea that saying a thing often enough will make it true ; hence the iteration and reiteration of phrases like "the freedom of the sea." Perhaps the height of childishness was reached when a week or two ago a leading statesman in Germany said : "We gave up our marine trade at the beginning of the war, let Britain now do the same and fight with us on equal terms." The cry of brutality against Britain for her blockading policy is repeated again and again. German brutality is justified (not simply excused) by the exigencies of war. Britain's acts, wholly justified as they are by the rules of international law, are characterized as brutal, and sentimental German tears flow from unnumbered eyes at the degeneracy of the English cousins.*

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* I hope I do not offend the susceptibilities of anyone when I refer to the eulogies of King James I. by the translators of the Authorized Version—in any other connection one would be nauseated by the fulsome flattery of the "most dread sovereign,"—like the "Sun in his strength" whose coming "to rule and reign over us" was the cause of "great and manifold . . . . blessings." The conventionalities of official life are still preserved in form, but while we say King George is King "by the Grace of God," we know and he knows that he is King by grace of an Act of Parliament.

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* It is noticeable that the German when he claims a cousin across the North Sea always calls him English. He has not yet claimed kindred with the Scot, the Irishman, the Welshman or the Canadian. Even for such small mercies may we be truly thankful !

The flat-faced, square-headed Prussian is akin to the Kalmuck, the Mongolian, not to English, Irish, Scotch or Welsh.

I should like to add here Bernstorff's view of the *Lusitania* tragedy :

"War between Germany and America over the sinking of the *Lusitania* was avoided, at one stage of the negotiations, by a personal appeal made "as man to man" to President Wilson by Count von Bernstorff, then German Ambassador, who begged the President not to insist that Germany admit that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was illegal and thereby to throw away his opportunity of becoming the intermediary for peace proposals. This is given as Bernstorff's own statement in an article on the personality and career of the late Ambassador by Frank Harris, editor of *Pearson's Magazine*, and former editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Saturday Review* of London. The article is to be published in the April issue of *Pearson's*.

This version of the way war was averted was told to Mr. Harris personally, he says, by the German Ambassador.

Mark the insistence on the word "illegal" as though the horror could be diminished by the omission of the word.

"Bernstorff himself," says Mr. Harris, "did not approve of the morality of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, even on the theory that it was retaliation for the illegality of the British blockade.

" 'You should not meet illegality by lowering your own ethical standard,' he argued, 'otherwise the antagonists would go down by successive steps to brute atrocities. You have to protest against illegalities and keep the law yourself the more rigidly. I had no difficulty in promising that the *Lusitania* incident would not be repeated though it would be wrong to speak of it as 'illegal', for ships carrying contraband are fair prey now as they always have been.

Just now is the cry, Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace ; there can be no Peace. The German may "bless himself in his heart, saying, I shall have peace though I walk in the imagination of my heart," but "there is no Peace", saith the Lord unto the wicked.

And yet there is mighty good in these modern Huns; their sense of order and willing obedience to authority, their burning patriotism, their unwearied diligence and minute accuracy all make for good, and we may hope that a great people will rise when they awake from the dream of superhumanity, when they acknowledge that other peoples have their virtues, when their eyes are opened to the hollow sham of their fetich, the Kaiser, with his megalomaniac patronizing of the Almighty, when they will shudder at the blasphemy of the "good old German God," when the awful horror of their deeds of infamy in Belgium is realized, when they have repented in sackcloth and ashes and have learned that it is not military prowess but righteousness which exalteth a nation.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed.

But we Germans are not afraid that high standards will bring us to defeat. We are all, I repeat, moralists, believers in moral right, and perhaps, therefore, too careless of manners, too disdainful of courtesies.' "

And he adds in a burst of generosity :

" 'I have no hates in me,' he said to me once ; 'the worst of me is I cannot hate. I cannot hate even Grey. I know you are right, I'm sure he is a man of high character and intense patriotism. It is a pity he goes in blinkers and cannot see us Germans as we are.' "

The real trouble, of course, is that Grey knows "us Germans" quite too well.

A STUDY OF THE KAISER

AN ADDRESS BY E. F. B. JOHNSTON, ESQ., K.C.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 22, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—A week ago to-day I had the pleasure of hearing the very able and distinguished address by Mr. Justice Riddell on the subject, "The Prussian Mind." Unconsciously he almost laid the foundation of what I am to say to you along a different line, and I hope to present the case from such an angle that you will be able to view it from a different standpoint, when you come to review the whole matter.

What I am going to speak to you about is not the history of the War, but I want to explain in a simple, connected sort of way about the Kaiser, and why he acts as he does, and the manner of man he is and evidently shows himself to be.

I recall reading a number of years ago of a scene in which two royal personages stood upon the deck of a royal dreadnought at a great review of the English navy. One was King Edward, the other was the Kaiser, who saw, with that jealous eye that is always present with him, England's greatness spread out before him ; and the report, for which I cannot vouch, but which illustrates the position of the two royal Emperors as well as anything I could say, was that, as the Kaiser saw those tremendous warships, almost innumerable, he asked the King, his own relative, "Are those instruments of war ?" King Edward replied, "No, they are the guardians of peace, and they are the bulwarks of the world's freedom." The Kaiser returned to his own country, and from that day began the building of ships. He, of all people, devised or helped, through his staff and his assistants, to devise the main cruel engines of death ; he tried to build a navy that would at least match, if not conquer, the British navy and the British ships. He began to build railways for merely military purposes, with no object whatever regarding internal trade and commerce. The map of Germany to-day looks like a spider's web with railways. In 1860 Great Britain had double the length of railways that Germany had ; in 1900 that was reversed. It is charged by writers competent to judge that 70 per cent. of the railways of Germany have no object to serve apart from military purposes, and giving the various military bases in the Empire.

Now, they have had nearly three years of war. It began, perhaps, not with the overt act of the Kaiser or his superiors as a war action ; perhaps more as a question of the unit we can trace it back to that period ; but whether we must start some time in 1914 as the beginning of the Kaiser's warlike tendency, there must have been tremendous preparations by the man, whether he was to blame or not, who was not looking for a continued peace; because for nearly three years the German Emperor and the German army, and to a great extent—notwithstanding the newspaper report—the German people have been provided for, within living capacity, at any rate. When you come to think of all that, and of the waste that must have taken place, you see what preparation must have been made by those people through the Kaiser and his advisers—men and munitions in abundance ; no lack of bullets or guns ; everything seems to have been piled up mountains high everywhere all over Germany for war purposes, and all apparently ready the moment when war was declared, showing that that preparation must have been going on for years.

We must not shut our eyes to the facts, no matter what our opinions may be, and we should give the devil his due—one of the greatest characteristics of the German Emperor is his efficiency. We lack that to some extent in Canada ; we lacked it in Great Britain before the war, for we had only about 70,000 men of an army at that time while the German Emperor had over 800,000 trained soldiers with 4,000,000 of practically trained military people to take their place at the front. That was efficiency. War or no war, it shows the wonderful grasp and the wonderful efficiency of the German mind as symbolized by the German Emperor. Not only their preparations in regard to men, but in regard to guns—guns that were unheard of, that beat down the strongest fortresses in the world. The German Emperor believed that he had the means or could devise the means not only to blow up fortresses, but to blow up heaven and earth—reserving the other place for his home, if needs be.

I would like to say a word or two on the question of democracy, because it has an intimate connection with the character of the Kaiser. The Kaiser could never be a representative of democracy. His whole temperament, his whole mind, his whole actions, his life, are all opposed to the principles of democracy. You have no doubt heard politicians talk of democracy as if it was a form of government or some kind of an institution. Democracy is opposed to militarism in every sense of the word ; it is opposed to any doctrine which involves the question that might is right ; it involves also a denial that the state under any circumstances, is supreme in the government of the country without reference to the people ; it denies that the government is absolute or irresponsible ; it is absolutely and utterly opposed to any one-man power. It is not a government at all, or an institution of any kind, but it is a spirit, or a high moral plane ; it is a spirit of a just government ; it is in harmony with all the moral forces of the world ; it has its trust in the moral instincts of the people ; and the moral instincts of the people have their trust and confidence in the rulers—if they do not have it, it is no longer a democracy. Democracy is an atmosphere, a faith and confidence in each other, between the rulers and the people. The main, cardinal element of democracy, and its main object, is the greatest good to the greatest number. It means that the government must be responsible to the people, and it may be the government of a democracy, whether it is Tory or Grit, whether it is Republican or Democrat ; that is a matter of no moment. Democracy is a national feeling, and that national feeling is the life of the principles of democracy. National spirit and freedom go hand in hand with democracy. When the German people talk about a democracy in Germany, or when we talk about a democracy in this country or the United States, we overlook the fact that we are not dealing with a form or an institution, but with the high moral instinct that actuates all the people in the country, whereby each one desires to do to others as they would wish to be done by———.

I should like to show, in the first place, something about the power of the Kaiser, because no matter what a man's temper is or what his instincts may be, if he has not the power he is harmless. By a singular coincidence, the North German Confederation was formed on the 1st day of July, 1867, and the Confederation of Canada, under the British North America Act, took place on the same date in the same year. They were based upon the same principles, namely, the construction of a central federal government dealing with general affairs, provinces dealing with local affairs, with a local government to look after them. Standing here, I am willing to admit that both sides of politics in Canada, in framing the Confederation adopted at least some of the true principles of democracy. You would not hear them say that of each other, but I am willing to grant that that is so. The two Confederations developed practically the same scheme, the same form of government ; in Germany they developed that through the sword, while in Canada we developed it through what we hope were more or less constitutional measures, and through the consideration and wisdom of our law-makers and law-givers. To-day, see the difference. You only need to look at the two countries, which started out at the same moment with the same form of government in effect. To-day you have in Canada the only country in the world that is absolutely free and open, in which a man's religion is guaranteed and his conscience protected, in which his life and liberty are guarded by every possible means that government can devise for that purpose ; you have that in Canada as a result of what I have said. In Germany you have the terror of the sword hanging over the whole nation ; you have the grinding heel of military despotism on the body of every Teuton, every German, every Hun, and everybody else who is a citizen of that country ; you have the soldiers, even in times of peace, riding rough-shod over their fellow citizens ; and you have the sorriest spectacle of a nation that has ever been exhibited to an astonished world. One is the result of a feeling of democracy and the principles of it ; the other, the result of the reign of the sword.

In 1870 the German Confederation was increased, and the German Empire was more or less consolidated. They have now 26 states, of which 17 are Prussian ; and I need not enlarge upon that, because Mr. Justice Riddell gave you full and ample and cogent grounds as to what your belief in the Prussian mind should be. Given, then, their power in representing 17 states out of 26, the President and War Lord of Prussia became merged in the German Empire. The Kaiser is not the Emperor of Germany by reason of any act or any parliament or any consent, or anything of the kind ; he is Emperor of Germany because he is the King of Prussia ; and therefore you have to deal with him to some extent along the lines that Mr. Justice Riddell mentioned—as King of Prussia, and not as German Emperor at all ; that is his tribute, if tribute is the right word to express the feeling, which seems to be that the Kaiser is not a tribute at all, but a demon.

Before I deal with the Kaiser's personal character, let us see what he can do. As King of Prussia he controls at least 17 votes—he controls a great many more, because he has the power to control them. He appoints and dismisses his Imperial Chancellor, who has vast power, greater power, I believe, than perhaps any man in the world. He declares war, if he so desires ;

he may or may not consult his advisers. He controls the navy, its action, its composition and its magnitude. He makes treaties with other nations—and breaks them when it suits him. Through the Chancellor he controls, to the detriment of the State and of the Government. All officials are amenable to him, if he chooses to exercise the power that is vested in him by the Prussian Monarchy, and by his junior partner, the Almighty. He has a great deal to say, and practically may say all that is to be said with regard to legislation. But he does more than that ; why, he does even more than the Honourable Adam could do—he controls the post office, the telegraphs, the railways, and all public utilities, including the Hydro-Electric System, if they have one. The people practically have no say whatever. Now, that is the democracy which he claims permeates the mind of the German. The military spirit has always had control. It has more control of late than it ever had. Judging from intimations made by Lord Grey and from what one reads, at the beginning the Kaiser was more or less inclined to peace just at that particular moment. He posed as the man of peace of Europe for a quarter of a century. No doubt, he has done a good deal towards establishing and maintaining peace—just the same kind of peace that a man would have before he stirred up a porcupine or some other animal of that description—because he knew there would be trouble. But whether that is so or not, there is one thing about the Kaiser, that along certain lines he had certain admirable qualities, but only during and under certain conditions. That is important to remember.

The Kaiser yielded to the army party ; he yielded to the military people and to the Crown Prince. At first, it is said that he hesitated ; but that, again, was the man, because he was apparently afraid of what the result might be. He did not want to take risks unnecessarily, and even at the sacrifice of his own military desires, or the desires of his friends and supporters, he was not willing to risk his place in the sun by the war.

Now, as to his personal character, many writers have given us an insight. He is a man of perhaps the most egotistical mind that exists in Europe to-day. You start off with his power, then get a man full of egotism; a man who is vain of his achievements or pretended achievements; a man who thinks that he and he only is the universe; ambitious beyond any question, but cautious enough to see his way fairly clear before risking the result of his ambition. There are two parallel lines in his character. One is highly emotional; that accounts for his somewhat refined tendencies and achievements; he paints; he is a great lover of art and a great patron of art; he is absolutely steeped to the lips in his love for music. He has the greatest delight in the world, so the writers say, in having his amusements with the children about his palace; nothing delighting him more than the ordinary harmless amusement of playing with his family and their relations and his children. Now, that is one side; that is his moral side.

But the Kaiser has the barbaric side; and one has just to think for a moment for what it is that operates on the man's mind. It is almost like an electric spark. If it touches the emotional, he is a man with, perhaps, a good many likeable traits in his character. If it touches the barbaric side, then look out. He loses control of himself; becomes probably an insane man, mad, mad with his egotism, his vanity, his ambition, and mad with his blood lust. Now, that is a disease. I cannot illustrate the Kaiser's composition in that respect better than by referring to the shepherd's dog—beautiful in every respect, kind and gentle with his flock, looking after the lambs as if he were a human being; but let him once taste the blood of the sheep and he becomes worse than a raging lion; he can then no longer be trusted; he becomes mad, and you can do nothing with him. That is the kind of blood lust that apparently affects the Kaiser. He is explosive—which is a bad nature to have, particularly to a man managing public affairs. And the Kaiser has the most peculiar and dangerous idea that any man can have;

he firmly believes that he and the Almighty are in partnership, and that the Almighty is directing him, assisting him, and using him in carrying out the ideas of the Kaiser for the advancement of the world and for the glorification of God Himself.

Now, notwithstanding all that, notwithstanding all his power, his artistic temperament, his desire to become the world's emperor, there is one thing that strikes me very forcibly in regard to the Kaiser ; he lacks perspective. He lacks judgment upon ordinary human affairs. Just look for one moment and see what he did. He not only mistook, but ignored and misapprehended the realities as they existed at the opening of the war ; the realities that he had to contend against seem to have been overlooked and entirely ignored. The Germans were ignorant of the realities of Belgium and the heroic defence that the Belgians made against the hordes of Germans who overran them. They were ignorant of and did not consider the realities in regard to England ; they believed that England would never enter the war, and if she did, they believed or thought that England was having a civil war through some gentlemen in Ireland; forgetting that the very men who were raising trouble in Ireland have always proved to be the most loyal subjects to Great Britain. Italy they discarded. In India they expected a rising of hundreds of millions of Mohammedans, whose disaffection with the British rule would inure to the benefit of the Germans ; but the reverse has been the case, and perhaps the greatest cry of relief that has ever been uttered in Europe or Asia went up when Bagdad fell, and the races concerned felt that a great weight had been removed from their shoulders. The Kaiser believed also that the colonies could be manipulated ; he did not know the kind of material from which the Canadian boys sprang. He did not realize the kind of people they breed out in Australia ; he did not for a moment consider the realities in regard to South Africa—the men who fought against Great Britain now fighting side by side against the German. He did not realize, and the Germans never can realize, and perhaps no other country besides ourselves and the British can realize how it is that, quarrel as we may amongst ourselves, we present a solid, undivided, unafraid front to the world at large.

To some extent the Kaiser was, perhaps, in the early stages dragged into the war. The Crown Prince has all the vices of the Hohenzollern, and none of his virtues. It may be that in the early stages of the war the Crown Prince was much to blame ; but that is no excuse or palliation whatever for the conduct of the Kaiser since the war began. Well, we have got the war ; the wolf tastes blood. We have the second vein, as it were, in the Kaiser's character, all aflame ; we can hope for nothing from the emotional side. The war must go on until that flame is extinguished, until the whole system is destroyed and the world is once more set at rest and peace. We have had a war that no civilized country can approve of, a war of barbarians. We have a war in which the enemy has wielded the sword of the assassin and not the sword of the soldier. They have broken faith with everybody concerned. I am even told that some American gentlemen in diplomatic and official circles in Washington begin to think that there is a little broken faith, and a few pieces shattered upon the United States. We have a war in which there is no honour whatever. One could understand the dignity of war, the rules which ought to govern war in civilized countries ; but none of those rules are observed ; the innocent shall suffer with the men who are fighting; the unborn babe shall never be born, and those that are born meet death at the hands of those people. Yet they say that is war. Perhaps nothing will go down to posterity with greater force and illuminating power in regard to the Kaiser's character than the butchery of women and children. The sinking of the Lusitania was the logical result, not of the war, but of the line in the Kaiser's character which I have been endeavouring to portray—of the greed, of the desire for something startling and something striking, and the satisfaction of his blood lust. So with the smoking ruins in Belgium and in France. That is not war.

Let me put it to you in this way : If I had a jury of the civilized world passing sentence upon this man, and I laid before them the plain facts of the case, without any discussion or any animus of any kind whatever ; or to take it still further, if His Lordship here (Mr. Justice Riddell) were to declare to the jury, as a judge, what the facts were, without any bias one way or the other, but a plain, simple statement of the facts, and should arraign the Kaiser upon them before the civilized world, and it would be shown that all the crimes that are known have been committed by him or with his knowledge and consent, and that he was gloating over the so-called victories and the demolition of bodies, and of ships filled with harmless men, women and children who had no part or lot in the war at all, that jury, without leaving their box, would convict the Kaiser of almost every crime known to humanity. Not only so, but if we committed one-millionth part of what the Kaiser has done, we would meet our just deserts as individuals, and suffer perhaps the extreme penalty of the law. So that I say there is no alternative, no punishment for the Kaiser except death. It does not matter whether he is sane or insane ; he is a man who is dangerous to be at large—not dangerous to you and me particularly, but dangerous to the whole civilized world, to the cause of Christianity and the cause of civilization. His proper place is the gallows, the same as any other criminal, and I should be very glad indeed if that were to take place, and relieve the world of a monster of this kind ; and I should be very glad to repeat what I have said here to-day at his last funeral service. We can forgive a great deal at certain times, but we cannot forgive a man who makes himself a monster, who becomes a demon, who is going about the world and stirring up strife, as he is doing, with all the nations who are not concerned in this war at all.

Now let me say that, notwithstanding all this, Canada must be kept as a home and a refuge for national and personal freedom. Our young men must go to save their country, because a final German victory would mean that we would become mere serfs, and would live in a land of slavery. I say the young men must save their country by repetition again and again of the heroism which they have shown on the battlefield. The old men must sacrifice time and money to help through the war; and then, when we ourselves come to the Great Divide that separates time from eternity, may we all be able to look back and say that during this terrible crisis we all did our duty.

The Honourable Mr. Justice Riddell, seconded by Very Rev. Dean Harris, tendered the speaker a hearty vote of thanks, which was carried.

CANADA'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AN ADDRESS BY Z. A. LASH, ESQ., K.C., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
March 29, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—We have all heard the general statements made in different ways, but amounting to the same thing, and to nothing more than the same thing—that Canada cannot go on as she has been doing, and have no part in connection with those great matters which involve the issues of peace and war ; that she can submit no longer to the people in one corner of the Empire conducting the Parliament and the Government which control those issues ; she must have some part in her own Foreign Policy and in the foreign affairs of the Empire. Now, we could say that over and over again in different ways and not get one foot farther. What I propose to do is to submit to you something in the nature of a dry, legal argument, which I hope will prove the proposition that I set out to prove. In fact, I am looking upon you more as a bench of judges than as a popular audience or members of this Club, and should I forget myself and refer to you as "Your Lordships," I hope you will pardon me.

Now, Great Britain is the nation of the Empire. By that I mean a nation having sovereign powers. The only representative nation which foreign nations having sovereign powers will recognize in matters in which nations as sovereign powers must act and decide. Canada being a part of the nation, and having full autonomy over her own affairs, has no status as a sovereign state to deal with foreign sovereign nations, except in minor matters to which I may refer.

The foreign affairs to which I intend to refer I will not attempt to define by any short sentence ; in fact, it would be impossible to define what our foreign affairs are. What are domestic affairs to-day may, in ways we cannot possibly think of in advance, become foreign affairs to-morrow. What I mean, therefore, by foreign affairs are those matters which two independent autonomous foreign states discuss with one another in that capacity.

The issues of peace and of war are involved in foreign affairs. If there were no foreign affairs, no other nations in the world but one, everything concerning that nation would be a domestic affair. If we had no relations with foreign nations, we would have nothing to deal with but our domestic affairs, in which no issues of peace and of war would be involved ; issues of riot, rebellion, might be involved, but no issues of peace and of war with foreign countries. Therefore, as Great Britain, the nation, represents all parts of the Empire with respect to those foreign issues, its foreign affairs cover the affairs of Great Britain, and the affairs of Canada, and all other parts of the Empire in so far as they are foreign affairs ; and as peace and war are involved in foreign affairs of any part of the Empire, it follows that each part is interested in the foreign affairs of every other part, although none except the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland have any share, as of right, in their control. It also follows—and this is a proposition of International Law arising from the very necessity of the case—that if war be declared by a foreign nation against the British Nation, or if the British nation declares war against a foreign nation, then a state of war would exist between the foreign nation and every part of the British nation. In other words, we have heard the sentence, "If Great Britain is at war, Canada is at war." Gentlemen, that is indisputable.

If, therefore, a state of war exists between a foreign nation and the British Empire—arising from whatever cause it may, something in which Canada has no concern except being brought into it as a member of the

Empire—Canada is at war, and is subject to all the consequences, in International Law, of being in a state of war with that foreign country. For instance, her ships on the sea would be liable to seizure ; her sailors, if they were on warships, to be imprisoned ; her citizens, if they were on a ship, liable to be interned. We could not complain. Her coasts would be liable to bombardment, and we could not complain. No wrong would be done, except that wrong for which there is no remedy in war—the non-observance of the rules of decency and humanity.

But a more serious consequence, if we were not engaged in the conflict, would be in connection with trade with the enemy. If Canada was in a state of war and Great Britain conducting the war, Great Britain must necessarily decide what every part of the Empire is to do with respect to the enemy ; and one of the first things done is to prohibit trading with the enemy; and not only prohibiting trading in the way of buying and selling goods, but using the phrase "trading with the enemy" in its widest sense of any dealings with the enemy. Any dealing with the enemy would constitute criminal offence, and without entering into the conflict at all, every part of the Empire would be subject to the conditions arising from the state of war, including that very common condition with respect to trade relations with the enemy.

Now, Canada, under her constitution, has complete control over her own affairs, speaking generally, and it is not worth while referring to exceptions ; and those affairs are confined precisely to those which happen within her borders ; but she has complete control with reference to many things outside of her borders or territorial jurisdiction. For instance, she has control over exports and imports. She can stop imports from a foreign country or from another member of the Empire, or from Great Britain herself, and she can impose Customs duties as she thinks fit. She can prohibit the export of certain articles, of any articles to any countries she thinks fit. She can control the question of naturalization of aliens. She can prevent the people of a foreign country from landing in Canada, and impose such conditions as she thinks fit. She can do many acts which might involve Canada, and through Canada the Empire, in a state of war. Yet if she did something which called for a declaration of war against the Empire she would not have any right, any matter of right, to deal with the discussions with that foreign country, which take place only between two sovereign nations, Great Britain and the foreign country.

There are a great many other matters which Canada can deal with outside of her territory. For instance, she can have agents in foreign countries. She can make trade agreements with foreign countries. In fact, she can do most things that any foreign country is willing to do with her. A foreign country can say, "I don't recognize you, and I can't have any dealings with you, I can only deal through the nation and with the nation" ; yet if a foreign country thinks fit to make an agreement with the Dominion of Canada in respect to matters which the British North America Act places under the powers of Canada, nobody could interfere unless those matters are something which only sovereign states can deal with.

Therefore, practically the only thing that Canada wants, so far as authority is concerned, beyond what she now has, is to control her foreign affairs, or to take part in the control of the foreign affairs of the Empire, which include her foreign affairs. I know of only one way in which Canada could take complete control of her foreign affairs and not be concerned in the foreign affairs of the rest of the Empire, and that one way is by becoming a sovereign state herself. But to become a sovereign state she would have to declare her independence and cease to be a member of the Empire.

What would be the result at the present time of such a course on the part of Canada, merely to enable her to take part in or control her own foreign affairs ? She certainly would not save any money. She would have to provide for the expenditure involved in the defence of herself, and the upholding of her rights against other sovereign states. It would mean the creation of a diplomatic service, with representatives in the various courts of the other nations of the world. And as she would lose the protection and benefit of the British army and navy by declaring her independence, she would either have to go unprepared to assert her rights against others, or create an army and a navy of her own. Therefore, her expenditure in that respect would be enormous. She would save no money by leaving the empire in order to get control of her foreign affairs.

[illegible]

If Canada, being unprepared, were at war with a country not unprepared or better prepared than she; and if pressure were exerted upon her, then, if that country were not the United States of America, what do you think would happen ? What could happen, other than to seek protection from the United States in order not to be conquered ? I leave you to judge what would happen. If Canada, being unprepared, were at war with the United States of America, she would either have to submit to such terms as were imposed upon her, if the United States were prepared for war, or be conquered. It is not a very desirable alternative for Canada in any event to leave the Empire.

Therefore, gentlemen, I will not belabour that any longer, but take up the question, what is Canada to do ? What can be done in order that she may remain in the Empire, and at the same time take part in the control of her foreign affairs. I have already explained that Canada's foreign affairs are the foreign affairs of the Empire, and the foreign affairs of other parts of the Empire are the foreign affairs of Canada.

Now, I know of only one way in which Canada could take part in her foreign affairs and remain in the Empire, and that is by making an agreement with Great Britain on that subject. It is unthinkable that the great power of the Imperial Parliament would ever be exercised against Canada's will to change her status, to bring her into different relations with Great Britain and the Empire, to force upon her a position with respect to foreign affairs, and expenditure with respect to them ; it is unthinkable that that could happen. Therefore nothing but an agreement, whether reduced to writing or not, is immaterial—whether in the shape of resolutions, as was done at the time of the Confederation of Canada, or reduced to an agreement which would be formulated in an act of the Imperial Parliament—does not matter. It would have to be done by an agreement, and the agreement would have to be ratified by the people of Canada, whether by a plebiscite or by an act of the Parliament of Canada, is a matter of detail. It would have to meet with the assent and approval of the people of Canada.

The next question is, if we must have an agreement, who would be the parties to it? I think we can get at the parties by a process of elimination. The British Empire, speaking generally, now consists of various parts—Great Britain and Ireland under one Parliament and Government ; the Dominions, having autonomous powers, consisting of Newfoundland, New Zealand, Canada, Australia and South Africa. I put Newfoundland first, I was born there. But that is not the reason ; the reason is that Newfoundland's present constitution is the oldest of any of the five ; New Zealand comes next, then Canada, Australia and South Africa in order of seniority. In addition to that, there are what we will call the colonies. Canada was once thought to be a colony ; it was a colony ; even after Confederation she was spoken of as a colony until we substituted the word Dominion. Those colonies have more or less powers of self-government. Some of them are administered by an official appointed by the British Government, who makes laws and ordinances for the people, who does the whole thing under the authority of Great Britain. Others have legislatures and councils. Some have almost the dignity of parliaments. But none, except the five I have mentioned, have full and effective autonomous government. Then comes India, then Egypt, then there are naval stations scattered here and there on the great imperial routes. Then there are the protectorates, which are not yet incorporated into the Empire, but over which the Empire has a power of protection and prevents aggression by foreign countries.

Now let us proceed with the elimination. Take the protectorates first. Of course, it is out of the question to have protectorates represented in any kind of a tribunal which would deal with the foreign affairs of the nation, because protectorates have no forms of government of their own except the native tribal form. Naval stations are, of course, out of the question. Egypt has only been incorporated into the Empire since the war began, and it could hardly be expected that it would be asked or would claim the right to be represented in a tribunal which would take charge of the foreign affairs of the Empire. India, of course, must be represented ; she has shown up so splendidly in this war ; she has poured out her men and her money and shown such a splendid patriotism, and such a capacity for governing her own affairs in this respect, that she has won her right and is entitled to representation on whatever tribunal is created to deal with the foreign affairs of the nation. The colonies, which have not full powers of self-government, which are not considered able to govern themselves, could hardly be asked to send representatives to the tribunal created to govern our foreign affairs and those of the other parts of the Empire. Therefore, the first of this list to come in would be India ; then the next would be the Dominions ; and the next would be Great Britain. So the parties to this agreement would be Great Britain, the Dominions and India.

Now, gentlemen, you may remember that, at the time of Confederation, the only provinces which agreed to come in and join in the agreement resulting in the passing of the British North America Act were the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Canada then consisting of Upper and Lower Canada joined by a Legislative Union. Prince Edward Island, although taking part in the debates on Confederation, did not come in. She came in afterwards because provision was made for her to come in.

British Columbia came in afterwards. Now, the same kind of thing might be done in reference to any discussion over an agreement between those seven bodies. I have mentioned either one, two or three or all except one might say, "I am not ready to make this agreement, I will stay where I am" ; the others might say, "We will make the agreement" ; it is not likely that any agreement would be come to which did not embrace Great Britain, the Dominions and India.

Assume, therefore, that we have the parties to the agreement, and assume that they come together to discuss it. The first question is, what must the agreement provide for, to be effective at all ? It would not do to say in bald terms, that Canada and the other Dominions shall have the right to take part in the control and discussion of their foreign affairs. That would be too general and amount to nothing. I am not going into the details as to how this agreement is to be arranged, but the first thing it must provide for is the creation of some central link or authority in which each party to the agreement would have representation, and which authority would be clothed with the power to deal with the foreign affairs of the Empire, of all the parties to the agreement and of the rest of the Empire, their foreign affairs being the foreign affairs of the parties to the agreement. For the want of a better word, I will refer to that as the Central Authority.

Suppose, now, that an agreement is come to, to create the Central Authority—I cannot take up time to suggest ways for creating it—what jurisdiction is to be given to that authority ? What is it to control ? What are its powers to be ? The Dominions would probably discuss only the creation of some authority to deal with that over which they have now no power. The only power they need place in that Central Authority is the control of foreign affairs of the kind that I have tried to explain ; that includes the diplomatic service, representation of the Empire through this Central Authority, in the foreign courts.

We know that where diplomacy fails to produce an agreement with reference to a dispute between nations, the only thing left, if either one of the nations adheres to its position and refuses to give way, is either to apply force or lie down. Now, there are only two great forces at the command of any country—the army and the navy; therefore, foreign affairs, which involve diplomatic relations with other countries, involve the control and possession of an army and a navy; therefore, this Central Authority must be entrusted with authority over and control of an army and a navy. I can not take up time to speak of local armies and local navies, about which there is much to say. This authority over and control of an army and navy is the second jurisdiction which must be given to the Central Authority. Practically everything else is the result of these two jurisdictions.

Diplomatic service and an army and navy cost money, therefore the Central Authority must be enabled to provide for the expenditure which results from the exercise of the jurisdiction entrusted to her, and must be able to stand up side by side with the best nations in the world and feel that her credit is as good as the best. Therefore, in addition to providing the actual cash for yearly expenditure, she must have financial resources and credit which would enable her to raise money for capital expenditure upon ships and the army and navy in case of war, as no taxation or yearly revenue would be sufficient compared to the amount which would have to be raised upon credit. Therefore, the Central Authority must have a yearly revenue, and a plan by which her credit would be established, so that she might come to the markets of the world and borrow money for the capital expenditure required.

If Canada takes part in her foreign affairs in the way I have mentioned, or any other way, she must take part in the expenditure following it ; she cannot get out of it. The only alternative is to declare her independence; and her expenditure under that alternative would be much more than her share of the expenditure of the Central Authority.

The plan of finance which would be required is probably the crux of the situation about which I have been speaking. If it were not for the conditions arising out of the difficult financial question, there would be no doubt that the parties would come to this agreement in a very short time, as the details practically settle themselves once you get a basis ; but upon the plan of finance there is bound to be a great diversity of opinion. I have thought over this matter many times, and I have views upon it, but until the British nation and the various parts of it who take part in this problem know what their responsibilities are, and their resources to meet those responsibilities, it would be idle to discuss the assumption of further responsibilities, or any plan for meeting further responsibilities. But there are two basic principles which I think will apply, and without which I fear there will be no plan arrived at.

The first basic principle is this—there must be no superior authority created which would have the right to interfere with the incidence of taxation in Canada, or I presume in any other of the Dominions. If Canada or other taxing power prepares a budget which places taxes upon certain things and lets others go free, encourages one industry and possibly discourages another, it is all one plan, the various parts are linked together, upon some general principle, sound or unsound. Now, if any superior authority interferes and imposes taxes upon the same people or the same things or upon people or things not taxed under that particular budget, it might disturb the whole financial situation of the country. That cannot be allowed, and I have no doubt the people of Canada would not agree to anything which would have that result.

The other basic principle I have already touched upon. It seems inconsistent, but I do not think it is ; I think it can be worked out in a spirit of generosity and compromise if those discussing the matter would only come together for the purpose of working it out. That principle is that the credit of that Central Authority must be maintained beyond doubt ; it must be furnished with the yearly sums, and must be furnished with credit as well. That would all be covered in the agreement. The only thing I suggest is that the Central Authority would not be maintained without doubt unless something more existed than the agreement to maintain it ; something would have to happen if that agreement were broken.

In carrying out any kind of a plan on the lines suggested, I think it would not be necessary to interfere with Canada's self-governing powers at all. If she made an agreement she would be making it in the exercise of her autonomy, and carrying out the powers she possessed; and she would not be giving up or interfering with or limiting her self-governing powers. The only party to the agreement which would require to give up something in such a plan would be Great Britain, which has now unlimited and uncontrolled discretion with reference to foreign affairs, controlled only by that sense of loyalty to her colonies, her dominions, and the other parts of her Empire ; she can now control and decide the questions of peace and war. She would have to give up to the Central Authority that discretion and that control ; but no other parties to the agreement would have to do so, certainly not Canada.

If some such plan as I have suggested were not adopted, what would be left for Canada to do ? Would she remain as she is ? Would she be satisfied to remain as she is, having nothing to say, except by grace of the British Government, with reference to her foreign affairs, or the foreign affairs of the Empire, which are hers ? Would she receive, and continue to receive, the protection of the British navy and the British army without paying any part of the expense of it unless she thought fit ? Gentlemen, such a position is unthinkable. I am glad to say that I feel that Canada has wiped out the disgrace of past years by her expenditure in this war, and by the part which she is taking in this war. Surely no Canadian patriot would ever dream for a moment of reverting to the old position where she was taking the benefit and not bearing any part of the financial burden, and where she had no right to take part in that which concerns her. She claims the right, and she should be prepared to pay her share of the cost.

A vote of hearty thanks was moved by Hon. Featherstone Osler, seconded by Sir Edmund Walker, and carried by a rising vote amid cheers.

RUSSIA

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR JAMES MAVOR, Ph. D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
April 5, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—On account of the rather meagre news from Russia it is impossible to form more than general conclusions upon the major events, as we cannot ascertain the reasons for some events, or the somewhat complicated causes which have produced them. It is obvious that the causes of the revolution must have been very complicated, and that the events did not take place as a result merely of sudden impulse ; no doubt it has been preparing for a lengthy period.

While the administrative system in Russia was always autocratic, there are fundamental laws which are observed, and which even the Imperial family are expected to observe. There are regular statutes and forms for legal procedure, and so on, about which the Russians are very fastidious, more so than some democratic countries. It must be remembered that the Russian people are of very complex racial origin. About 70,000,000 are properly called Russians, the other 100,000,000 are partly of Russian origin, and partly of other origin. There are great numbers of Finlanders, these again having a somewhat mixed racial origin ; and there are great numbers of Poles and of Germans. The Baltic Provinces were colonized by the Teutonic knights in the latter middle age, and they brought with them a number of German colonists, who remained there and formed a very important section of the Russian population, and although only about 1,500,000 out of 175 or 180 millions, they are important because exceedingly well educated. From the beginning of the 19th century, there was a real system of popular education in the Baltic Provinces, which was promoted really by the landed proprietors, and was occasionally even frowned at by the Government; but still that system remained, and there was a very good university in the important city of Dorbat, which was called for some years Uriak ; that university became celebrated in various branches, particularly in philology. This high educational standard gave the people of the Baltic provinces a very great advantage in competition for administrative offices; and, in consequence, the Germans took a very high place in all the important Government offices in Russia. For many years Germans from the Baltic Provinces have had control of the censorship of newspapers, books, periodicals, etc., published in Russia or introduced from abroad. Then, also, the higher education gave them great interest in military affairs, and very many of the most eminent generals, and most important members of the Russian general staff, were of Baltic Province origin. It does not follow that because a man has a German name he is therefore, a German; but if you find a man named Rankom, for example, you may know that generally he is a Baltic Province man. In other government departments besides the censorship there were large numbers of the Baltic Province Germans who were exceedingly good functionaries; and, in general, a Baltic Province functionary was extremely loyal to the administration. He had the characteristic of a good functionary, that is to say, he had no mind of his own, and simply did what he was told or what he conceived to be his duty as a member of the administrative system. Sometimes he disliked the Russian authorities about him ; sometimes he spoke rather contemptuously of them, but he was generally loyal to the superior authorities, and a loyal member of the administrative system of the Government.

During the past year we have seen considerable complaint about inefficiency during the war on the part of the administrative and military officers. The same thing is noticeable in other countries; but perhaps there was more reason for that criticism in Russia than in any place else, because Russia is a vast country. The railways, though not all in the hands of the government, are under its control in a more intimate sense than in Great Britain. The Government in Russia also habitually assumes an enormous number of functions about which other governments hesitate. Hence if anything goes wrong in a country where the Government has comparatively slender responsibilities the Government is not held responsible, but where a Government assumes complete control of everything of course it is the only party to whom the people can look for relief from their grievances. In proportion as a Government enlarges the area of its functions, it increases the delicacy of the political equilibrium. That appears to have been the case in Russia during the past year, and one minister gave place to another with great rapidity. Sometimes ministers are in office for only two or three weeks and a change of opinion occurs, and changes of this character were going on in Russia very rapidly. For instance, Protopopov, who was Prime Minister at the time of the revolution, had a very respectable reputation as a moderate liberal, not a radical liberal like the constitutional democrats. He came over to England with a delegation of members of the Duma, and was very well received as representative of the moderate liberal element; but almost immediately after he returned to Russia, for some reason which does not appear, he changed his attitude towards the whole political system and began to be quite reactionary. He continued to subsidize the reactionary newspapers, and to keep in office those people whom the liberal element very greatly suspected and disliked, and in general he soon became the ruler of the older reactionary party. He was subjected to enquiry by his own party men, and by a formal resolution they dismissed him from his party and ruled him out of it ; that was before the revolution.

Another instance of the extreme delicacy of the equilibrium belongs to a different category. The Minister Sturmer, for example, who was a moderate liberal, met with some complication as Miliukov was endeavouring to get rid of the influence of Rasputin. Sturmer was the procurator of the Holy Synod, and it was quite within his function as the legal head of the church, as the leading ecclesiastic, and he tried to get rid of Rasputin, who was a Siberian monk, an ignorant man of enormous influence over the Czar and other members of the Imperial Family, through the power which some quite ignorant people possess of exercising hypnotic influence. He appeared to exercise that influence for purposes of those who made use of Rasputin. Sturmer insisted on the dismissal of Rasputin from the Court on the ground that his influence was injurious, but immediately afterwards Sturmer himself was dismissed, Rasputin's influence being too strong for him. That meant that the influence of an obscure monk was greater than that of the leading ecclesiastical lawyer, a man in the highest position in the Synod, when it was possible for Rasputin to secure his dismissal. Of course that led to the assassination of Rasputin, and the final removal of his influence.

It is impossible to know exactly what has happened at the present time, but it appears to me that the revolution which has taken place has not been exclusively an anti-German revolution, that is, a revolution against the German elements. The revolution has not been exclusively of a dynastic character, because the Duma was quite willing to have a member of the Imperial Family, as Czar, if the Grand Duke Michael had chosen to take the position. The revolution has been of a more complicated and deep character than that. Neither has it been provoked or promoted by the extreme revolutionary elements. It has not been a revolution provoked by the peasants, or promoted by the working people. It has been a parliamentary coup d'etat, in which the delicate state of equilibrium has been taken advantage of to upset the dynasty and upset the autocratic rule of Russia, and that probably by the parties who originally intended to revolt. It appears to me that the extreme revolutionary parties—the extreme social democrats in the Duma and the socialists' revolutionary parties outside the Duma—were very anxious to take advantage of the situation and make a revolution ; but that the parties of the centre, that is to say, the constitutional democrats, with certain elements of the disintegrated right, that is the conservative party, had been subject to a rapid process of disintegration during the past year, and those disintegrated elements of the right joining together with the Constitutional democrats, and a large section of the moderate democrats, have made a formidable block consisting of the bulk of the Duma—not a mere majority. This formidable block has made the revolution, and taken it out of the hands of the extreme elements, and are now guiding it themselves ; that is my interpretation of it.

It must be remembered that a revolution, especially in Russia, has to encounter very big risks ; first, the risk of a revolt of the extreme element ; next, the risk of the ignorance of the people through not knowing what is happening—and you may be quite sure that tens of millions of Russians do not know what is happening. To-day one sees in the newspapers that some soldiers had been deserting from the front and going back to their villages, because they had heard there was to be a new distribution of the land, and they determined to be on the spot so as to get their share. That is entirely characteristic, and I should be quite prepared to believe that that movement was very considerable. That is exactly what the Russian peasant might be counted upon doing. That is one of the reasons that the revolutionary movement occurred—the reason of a stampede from the front—and it is quite possible that the Germans have been shrewd enough to realize that it was quite well to give time for that to happen, for some disintegrating force to take place. It is very likely that that has been a more or less important movement.

There were other movements in process during the past year besides those I have mentioned. I suppose you realize that there is no country where local government is quite so fully developed as in Russia, where every Province and every municipality has its more or less effective Provincial and Municipal Government. One of the points which made people very optimistic about the entry of Russia into the war at the beginning, was the manner in which the Government encouraged the growth of municipal enterprise and of local government. In respect to the provision of munitionment for the army, it was thought by many people that the nation was united in a great movement for the elevation of the national prestige; for the recovery of the national military prestige after the defeat of Russia by Japan, and for the effective guaranteeing of the country against the very great power that had been looked upon for long as a menace against Russia. There was a great deal to be said for that point of view. The local councils, the zemstvos councils, threw themselves with great energy into the manufacture of munitions. The local factories for making boots for the army, clothing for the army, supplying flour and meat and so on, assisted the central Government to a very serious degree. Now, what was the reason for the change of policy in that respect ? I do not know, but there was some reason; and the fact of that mysterious movement, whatever it was, came to be apparent in the steady discouragement of those municipal efforts on the part of the central administration. The excuse given by the apologists for the central administration was that the local councils, the zemstvo councils, were becoming too intimate with the Duma, that they were coming too much into relations with the Duma, and that these created danger for the stability of the crown. That may be ; at all events, the authorities did undoubtedly discourage the zemstvos. One of the difficulties of course was this, that changes were occurring so rapidly in the personnel of the government, and were reflecting themselves undoubtedly in the mind of the Czar, and all sorts of contradictory ukases were delivered during last year. For instance, one ukase would subordinate the zemstvos to the central authorities ; another ukase would approve of what the zemstvos were doing, and so on ; the whole thing was really causing confusion of a very serious character.

For the situation which arose a few weeks ago the precise military reason we cannot see: but from what I have said you can see there were all the materials for a complete upset of the whole system, for the complete upset of the autocracy, which had lost its grip upon the situation. No one member of the Government remained in his place for any length of time, and the consequence was a situation of affairs in which any skilful, able politician might come forward, and as it were, tear Russian life up by the roots so far as its parliamentary system was concerned. That appears to have been accomplished by people like Miliukov, who was away from Russia a great many years, spending a good part of his time in Bulgaria at Sofia, and at odd moments he lived in Western Europe. His general ideas were those rather of Western Europe than of Russia. He looked upon the Russian Government system as being quite reactionary, and for many years he had been writing in Russian journals and otherwise in favour of an increasing western influence upon Russian affairs. There are other members of the new party who are of a somewhat similar character. There are also to be found in the new party some very curious anachronisms; for instance, the leader, who was the President of the Duma before the revolution, is a Little Russian ; I do not know whether his sympathies are Ukranian or not, but he is not a Great Russian. The new premier of the revolution is not a Great Russian, for he is a Georgian from the Caucasus. Again, to show how mingled is the question of German influence, Burtales, who was a minister of state and is a German, is not in jail; he was arrested and kept in durance for two or three hours and then liberated. That illustrates how very curiously confused the whole question is.

It is quite possible, as I have hinted, that the revelations within the past few days, whether really susceptible to absolute proof or not, led to the suspicion that there was a good deal of what is known in this country as graft in the Government. The accusations against the Government of Kovno, and the Government of Liballa for having sold the fortress of Liballa, are very serious if they can be sustained, and there is a further accusation against the Germans that they attempted to bribe General Kuropatkin. It has been known for very many years that there has been a great deal of corruption in the Russian Government, and it has been popularly supposed that business could not be done in Russia, except by means of corruption. I have never had the opportunity of making any judicial inquiry into this matter, yet from such as I have been able to make in Russia, I was always inclined to disbelieve those stories. I heard a great many of that kind, and some were very old, though told to me as having been of very recent occurrence; but they had been told to many people and under very different circumstances, showing that there was a considerable amount of legend in the matter. On the other hand, there have been state trials in Russia of people accused, and a number of convictions were secured. When I was in Russia a railway contractor was accused of having embezzled 2,000,000 roubles, about $1,000,000, from the Government, and he was sent to jail for 7 years, I think, which was a very respectable sentence considering that he belonged to a highly aristocratic family. I doubt whether similar drastic measures would have been taken in this country even if he had stolen $2,000,000 instead of $1,000,000.

Nothwithstanding appearances, there is a certain very important element of solidarity among the Russian people, and I think this element will be very greatly increased owing to what has happened. For a time, at all events, we will not find an aggressive anti-governmental attitude on the part of the Finlanders, or on the part of the people of Ukrania, that is, Little

Russia, or the Pole. Those people will find it to their great advantage to throw in their influence with democratic Russia, rather than run the risk of being absorbed by autocratic Germany; so that, when it has time to penetrate the minds of the people, I think we will find a more solid and efficient and able resistance to Germany on the Eastern front than there has been. I feel quite persuaded of that. At the same time, at the moment we run a very great risk indeed of weakening resistance on the eastern front, and I think that is one reason why the Anglo-French Armies are pressing very hard on the Western front, so that Germany will be unable to spare a single man to go to the Eastern front to take advantage of the situation. The coming in of America is of great advantage from that point of view. Just at the critical moment when we run the risk of a certain movement on the Eastern front, to have the tremendous reserves of America thrown into the Western scale is a very important matter.

A hearty vote of thanks was moved by Sir Frederick Stupart, seconded by Mr. J. D. Allan, and was carried.

THE CANADIAN OUTLOOK

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT.-COL. SIR DOUGLAS CAMERON, K.C.M.G.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
April 12, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I accepted with diffidence your invitation to address you, for the most of my time has been devoted to industry, trade and commerce, hence I cannot appear before you as one well equipped or prepared to discuss the great questions which are agitating our mind at this time, having given but few years of my life to public service. But as citizens of a great country even the least of us may on occasion have found some inspiration in these days of trial, of testing, of mighty conflict. It was my purpose just to make some reference to the country in which we live, its resources and potential wealth, so that we may feel called upon here and now to make the greatest sacrifices that Britons have ever made ; and theirs is a history of devotion and sacrifice for the upbuilding of great ideals.

Go with me in imagination to the dyked lands of the Bay of Fundy, and then cross the sunset sea to the Alaskan boundary, and we find in this country vast resources—timber areas greater than the forest wealth of any other country in the world when the value of our pulp woods are considered ; water powers which furnish the electric current to aid labour and commerce, greater, I believe, than those given to any other country in the world. Our mineral resources are but little developed, but it is known that we have within those areas about half of the coal areas of the world. Cape Breton has iron ore beds that would easily supply Pittsburg indefinitely. Our wheat lands are perhaps the greatest of any country next to Russia, and we live in a latitude where the cereals and grasses grow to great perfection and where animals necessary to our domestic happiness and comfort reach great perfection also. From our latitude have hitherto come the conquering races of the world. These resources, and the institutions which it is our privilege to enjoy and maintain, have been handed down to us by the mother country, by the people of those little islands surrounded by the sea. It is therefore our duty to help maintain our own liberty and the liberty of the world. This is the great task, and a great calling, and the question is, can we endure unto the end ?

Look at the history of our mother country. There are those who have said that our forefathers were buccaneers and pirates on the seas; but if that statement has a grain of truth in it, it has led to the upbuilding and maintenance of a fleet which is our sure shield and protection. That navy is a sure shield and protector for the British Empire and for democracy and humanity in this titanic struggle. The great motherland handed Canada over to us at the cost of much blood and treasure. Follow them to India and you will find them establishing liberty and British justice in that country of great oriental splendour; and why ? Because that great people, with all their early civilization and their splendour, were divided into separate dynasties which made war upon one another, and war in all its cruelty was ever present in that country. But British rule, British power for organization, has given comparative peace, education and social development in that great country. British genius, organizing power and capital have transformed those areas, dry and arid, but still occupied by millions of the inhabitants of India, so that periodical drouth has been eradicated, and where millions formerly suffered the pangs of hunger and death they are now living in comparative comfort.

Go to Egypt, and what do you find ? The great Kitchener established law and order in that country ; true, it was with the power of the sword and the arbitrament of war, but it was necessary ; and what is the result to-day ? No sooner were law and order established than British pluck and enterprise constructed the great Assouan dam, one of the greatest enterprises of its time, in order that the waters of the Nile river and its floods might be controlled—that river on which once floated the gilded barge of Cleopatra—that it might furnish a perennial reserve of supply for the irrigation of the lands over which formerly had roamed the ancient Pharaoh. By this means vast valleys have been brought under cultivation, and to-day the highest grades of cotton that the world produces come from those valleys thus supplied.

Let us go to South Africa. We know that at the time of the Boer war there was some difference of opinion as to whether or not the British people were justified in making war, but it would seem that now, at least, their efforts have been justified, for some of those men who fought against us are now assisting us in the fight for democracy over autocracy. I think you will agree with me that if any wrong means were adopted in that war, the end has justified the means. The British people have made mistakes, but they are honest at heart, they are liberal and generous, as a short review of their history proves, and they are loyal to the greatest ideals that the world to-day knows.

In this mighty conflict we are now joined by the other half of the Anglo-Saxon race. Tardily they have joined us, because we all know there have been great differences of opinion with regard to our ideas, British ideas. We know that it is not so many years ago that the tail of the British lion was frequently twisted by the yellow press of the United States. But that has ceased, to a great extent, and to-day the press of the great democracy to the south of us approves of the principles we are fighting to uphold, and joins with us whole-heartedly, and if the conflict continues I believe the United States will show that they are not as described by the Germans, through Major Moraht, who sneers at the American army as "shoddy material." Well he may sneer at that great republic because of their unpreparedness but he should remember that the dominating spirits of that great country come of the stock from which we ourselves have sprung, and the blood that flows in our veins still flows in theirs. The German people seem to have become a pagan people, a cruel people, a merciless people, consumed by their own egotism and vanity ; but Major Moraht and his pagan ideas will suffer seriously by the very incompetence that he pretends to describe. If this war continues, as it may, for a considerable period, he will find that that mighty country, with its scientific appliances, great natural resources, its ability to finance, and its proud people, will count as a tremendous factor, and that the paganism of Germany will fade before its power. Time counts in the history of this war.

As to our own position, we have arrived at a period in this great conflict when no less a man than the head of the British army, Sir William Robertson, cries out to the Empire for more men, that the end is not yet ; that the road to travel is long and hard before victory crowns our efforts. It is therefore up to us in this Dominion to call out our every resource, to contribute all the man-power we have, to reinforce the gallant civilian soldiers who have been carrying on the fight for liberty in Flanders. Yes, our sons over there are calling on us to give them reinforcements to supply the wastage ; and I hold that the first thing necessary to win this great war is man-power. This should be our first consideration, whether through voluntary enlistment, or through the courage of British manhood we say, "The man who has not the pluck and the spirit to fight for home and country should be compelled." Yes, compelled to give the service equal to the protection and service which he receives from the country of his birth or adoption. The material things will follow—enough of us will remain behind to provide all we require, if more effort, more energy, more self-sacrifice is given to the cause of liberty. When we think of the deeds of Canada's sons in the various conflicts we are amazed at the lack of moral courage among those at home who refuse to follow. I do not reflect on our leaders in public life ; I do not wish to reflect on one party or the other, but I say it is up to the people to bring pressure upon those who lead them. I have always found, speaking generally, that the men who are called upon to govern are as good to govern as the people who elect them deserve. I say it is up to us to give the men proper support, first by man-power. Look at the history they have made and are making. Consider the position of Canada's citizen soldiers at Ypres, when they were surprised and attacked with poisonous gases that had not hitherto been used in warfare ; when their neighbours retired, through no fault of their own, and left our men exposed not only to gases and shell and rifle fire from the enemy in front, but also to the enfilading of the enemy because of a retirement for which they were not responsible. But they stood their ground, and fought and bled, never deserting. Many were wounded and killed. They died nobly ; yes, they sat at the foot of the cross of their own crucifixion, dying that they might live again in history, an example to us who remain. They saved the day. They kept the Hun back. Most of them perished, but the history of their deeds will remain indelibly stamped as an instruction to generations yet unborn.

The fact is fresh in your minds that only recently, after that great French genius, Joffre, with his splendid army, failed to secure the Vimy heights, after many bloody battles to attain those heights, all ending in failure, failure, failure, the Canadian citizen soldiers took those heights. They wiped out what was on the surface, and from the very bowels of the earth they broke those Huns who had not the courage to stay on the surface ; and we are told that 4,000 men were marched back as prisoners by Canadian soldiers.

These are the deeds that call out to us to put forth our greatest effort in furnishing men first, and afterwards material. Shall we rise to the occasion ? Shall we endure to the end ? Shall we imitate the men who have gone before us ?—our forefathers who established the Empire of which we claim to be so proud ? Look at the British people. During the period of voluntary enlistment they enrolled about eleven per cent. of the total population of those islands in order that the principles of humanity might be maintained, while Canada, this vigorous young nation, has enlisted only about five per cent. Yet that was not sufficient, for the Government of Britain, by its people, were forced to say, "Enlist every man, or compel every man capable of carrying arms ; send him to the colors whether he will or not." For the democracy of the Empire is not the freedom that some people think it is ; it is not a license to do as we will ; rather is it a license to serve the state. That is what democracy means. That is what our mother-country is doing with every man, and really every woman, too. What the women of Britain have done and are doing in this great conflict is indeed a joy to every man and woman in the Empire. I know that we have the same spirit in women in Canada, but we have not yet called it out, and given them full opportunity to exercise all that is in them to do.

Let us send our able-bodied men to fight our battles, and call upon the women of this country, if necessary, to fill their places ; then, and only then, will we have contributed our full quota ; then and only then can we lay the flattering unction to our souls that we have fully discharged the great responsibilities resting upon the great people occupying one of the chief countries of the world ; remembering those words :—

> Breathes there a man with soul so dead
> Who never to himself hath said,
> "This is my own, my native land ?"

That is the spirit which should actuate us on every occasion and all the time if we are to endure, if we are to do our full part in maintaining the liberties which have been handed down to us, which have been vouchsafed to the world through democracy—and what country has succeeded in establishing a more democratic and more liberal form of government than our own ? There is no other.

In conclusion I would say : "Be not weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not."

A vote of thanks, moved by Hon. Mr. Justice Craig, and seconded by Prof. McLennan, was carried.

COMMERCIAL RUSSIA

An Address by J. D. ALLAN, ESQ.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
April 19, 1917

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—You have set me the task of telling in half an hour about the commerce of a country that embraces one-seventh of the land surface of the world. People are more anxious now to hear about Russia than 20 years ago when I first began visiting that country.

It is characteristic of people generally when they go into a new country to measure everything by the plumb-line of their own civilization and judge everything by their own environment. Putting this test upon Russia would lead you far adrift in your conclusion. No one from this country can dare trust themselves with the conclusions arrived at on their first visit. Only by a series of visits can a perspective be formed which will do that country justice. I do not think, Russia was ever so black as she was painted in years gone by. Nor I do not think Russian prospects are so bright as the descriptions given to-day would indicate, but that is owing to the swinging backwards and forwards of the pendulum of human thought.

Russia has always been to me intensely interesting, and in extent almost terrifying. While the British Empire has a larger area in square miles, it is separated by oceans and seas and scattered over the entire world, Russia is a whole. You can start at Helinsfors and go to Vladivostock, over 7,000 miles ; you can start from Archangel and go to Tiflis, 3,500 miles and you are all the time within the Russian Empire. It has always been a wonder to me how such a tremendous expanse of country, inhabited by such a variety of people with such a number of dialects could be successfully governed from one centre, and yet it has been.

Russia is a land of contradictions. Many things there are worthy of emulation ; many other things you would just as soon avoid. The population of Russia is 80 or 90 per cent. agricultural and mostly peasants of not a very high order of intelligence ; but remember that up until 1861 those people were serfs ; the only difference between them and the American slave being that they were white. There were 4,000,000 of slaves in the south, whereas there were 47,000,000 in Russia. I have the most intense admiration for Alexander II. who freed the serfs. He was a man of noble principles and high ideals and would have worked out a magnificent future in Russia if he had not been slain by a Nihilist bomb, and no ruler has succeeded him with the same high aspirations.

These serfs are an important element in the agriculture of Russia, from which our own Province of Ontario has reaped benefits, Prof. Zavitz having shown that millions of dollars have been added to the returns of the farmers of this country as a result of bringing certain seeds, barley, oats, and wheat from Russia. The country has an area of 8,000,000 square miles, and a considerable portion of it south of the 59th north latitude is fit for cultivation. The finest creamery butter sold in London to-day is made on the Plains of Siberia. Scientific research as the Russians have adopted it in agriculture is something that we must copy. When I go out into our country districts and see how little is being done on the lines of advanced agriculture and hear the proud boast that we are the greatest country in the world, we swell out our breast in pride—if we would look around we would discover that we have been measuring ourselves by ourselves, with the usual result that our measuring stick has been defective. The increase in the products of agriculture in Russia has been remarkable. The exports in 1895 were 608,000,000 roubles, and in 1911, 1,365,000,000 roubles. The total agricultural production in 1895 was 4 billion roubles, and in 1911, 9 billion roubles. Agricultural machinery imports in 1911, 57,500,000 roubles. Yet many people are surprised at such figures considering the latitude of that country. They have cold storage there in plants, on trains, on steamers and so on. I was surprised to find silk and cotton such important agricultural products. They grow 55% of the total cotton manufactured for their own use. The consumption of cotton is very heavy, for people wear it the year round. The way they overcome the cold is to keep the houses excessively hot inside.

In silk, Russia ranks sixth among the nations of the world.

In wool, the factories in 1910 used £20,000,000 worth, every fibre grown in Russia.

In 1910 Russia exported 275,000 tons of flax.

In linen yarn, Russia is second in the world in production; 400,000 spindles are at work in flax mills. The linen goods they make there are wonderful. When I first went to Russia in 1892, I bought some linen towels and they are still in use in my house—the finest we ever had, made in Russia from their own flax.

I have not time to go over the other agricultural products, but I may say that the appropriation for agricultural experimental work increased from 361,000 roubles in 1908 to 2,100,000 roubles in 1912. Let Canada awake to the fact that our greatest need is a more intelligent system of agriculture than we now possess ; and this can be arrived at only by imitating the Russians in experimental work.

If there is one thing that we in Canada should be ashamed of, it is the waste and worse than waste of our forestry products. Russia has an enlightened policy. They have 1,700 million acres of forest, all under one jurisdiction. The lumbermen must take off timber in the proper manner, must clean up the ground, and for everything he cuts down, he must plant tree for tree. That is in barbarous Russia ; are we as civilized here compared with them ?

When I first went to Russia, I could not have got on at all if I had not been able to speak the German language ; but now that language is absolutely prohibited—and the regulation says it is for all time to come.

From the time of Queen Elizabeth till 60 years ago, the British merchants were predominant in Russia, and they were the financiers of Russian trade ; but the Crimean War and political differences intervened, and from 1893 to 1909 the British exports to Russia increased only 8%, while Germany's exports increased 370%.

Russia has enough iron ore in the Ural Mountains to last more than 100 years after taking out 10,000,000 tons every year.

The leather trade in Russia is tremendous. The manufacture of leather in Russia alone, from their own tanneries, amounts to about $55,000,000 annually.

The production of rubber is about $5,000,000. The Russians are very thrifty, as you know after seeing what the Russian peddlers pick up around your houses. While in Russia I saw a pile of half-worn rubber overshoes at least 200 yards long and 25 feet high. They were to be sent to market to be made into bicycle tires. Rubber shoes when half worn out can be sold for about half the first price. These things show the Russian habit of thrift.

From the mines in the Ural Mountains or in the Caucasus the following materials and their products are extracted : copper, manganese, gold, silver, platinum, lead, zinc, tin, mercury, asphalt, naphtha, porphyry, malachite, coal.

Oil wells produce annually 96,000,000 barrels of oil.

There are extensive deposits of nickel in the Ural Mountains, but they have not been worked to any great extent because of lack of capital.

There are 536 iron ore mines in Russia, and the production of pig iron doubled in ten years.

Manufacturing was encouraged even by the autocratic government of Russia. Factories were started in all parts of Russia. The greatest iron and steel works were established in the south of Russia, at a place called Usofka, founded by an Englishman named John Hughes. There they pay 12,000 operators. The profits of that institution have gone as high as 25%. Profits in the manufacturing industry generally in Russia has averaged not less that 15% in spite of the zemstvo taxes, which are separate from the general tax, and in many cases goes as high as 50%.

The system of doing business at fairs grows out of the old system of barter. The Fair at Nizhni Novgorod was founded about 1600, and the profits were given as a perquisite to the monks. It is continued as a means of bringing produce together and distributing it, though much of its importance has been lost owing to the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway. At that Fair, from the 10th of June to the 7th of September, there was the most kaleidoscopic collection of humanity to be found on the face of the earth; and I believe I was the first one to go there from the Western Hemisphere. That place was selected for the Fair because it is the junction of the Volga and the Oka Rivers, the drainage from which has brought about the peopling of those vast plains which contribute their produce for interchange and barter.

Although the values of furs sold at that Fair runs into millions each year, that is about the smallest item at the Fair. When I went there first the values of all commodities actually sold varied from $300,000,000 to $500,000,000. The volume now is not so great, as goods go to Moscow.

Throughout Siberia there are 409 Fairs for the sale of everything—butter, cheese, tallow, etc. Any attendants at those fairs are the largest brokers in Russia, buying for foreign merchants.

There is a system of long credit in vogue in Russia. The shortest term is 12 months, and then renewal for another 12 months. Everything bought at Nizhni Novgorod must be settled by the 10th of September, either by note or cash.

When I spoke at this Club some weeks ago at the close of Prof. Mavor's address, I was asked what was the best book on Russia. One of the most correctly written and accurately recorded works that I have come across is "Russia of To-day" by John Foster Fraser, published by Cassell & Co. of this city. It is narrative in style and worth your while getting if you have not seen it.

As to Russia's finances, that country has never repudiated a loan, and under the new order of things, I do not think there is much danger of her doing so. The State revenue in 1908 was £241,780,000. In 1913 that had risen to £317,910,000. Under the Russian system they keep what they call a free balance to provide for contingencies, and in that year the free balance was £40,000,000 sterling.

There is another feature of immense hidden wealth in the monasteries of Russia that is not generally known. I had been going to Russia for years before I visited the Troitska Monastery, about 30 versts east of Moscow. There I got the surprise of my life in the matter of precious metals. In the days of serfdom that monastery had 106,000 slaves, and drew a land revenue from 500,000 people. In that monastery there were single frames of Ikons—that is, "Holy Picture"—worth a quarter of a million dollars ; and the walls were literally plastered with diamonds and precious stones. I asked my friend what was the value of all these, and he replied, "If these were turned into cash, the value of what you see in this monastery would pay the national debt of Russia and the running expenses of the Russian Empire for 40 years altogether." And that is only one monastery.

I believe that one of the results of this war will be to make the change of government lasting in Russia, so that we will have the large-hearted Russian peasant, who has a lot of the milk of human kindness, lifted in the scale of humanity ; and it may be that the return for all the sacrifices that the world has been called upon to make because of the mad ambition of one man will be the rejuvenating and re-glorifying of the world.

Canadians have a responsibility in connection with this war. Our sons have been killed in bringing about the results they have achieved. Let us see that we establish here a model state whose foundations shall be laid broad and deep, and that the chief corner stone will be one of character. Let us see that neither nation nor individual shall be allowed to depart from that high ideal. Then, even in spite of vacant places in our homes, we will feel that the sacrifice has in some measure been justified.

The Rev. Prof. Law moved a hearty vote of thanks to the speaker. This was seconded by Mr. W. K. George, and carried.

SOME OF THE WAR WORK OF CANADIAN WOMEN

AN ADDRESS BY MRS. ARTHUR VAN KOUGHNET

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
April 26, 1917

HIS HONOUR SIR JOHN HENDRIE, LADY HENDRIE, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF WOMEN'S WORK BEING PRESENT AS GUESTS :

YOUR HONOUR, MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am deeply conscious of the honour you have done me to-day. It is a pleasure to be here and a privilege to address the Empire Club of Canada. But the subject, some of the women's work during the past two years, to my mind should have had a more able speaker than myself. It is much easier for any of us to speak of the bravery and courage of our men at the front than it is to speak of work that has been done for them here at home.

Some people have called these years women's years. And so they are for those mothers whose sons are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Allies in the conflict of nations. We know what they have borne and what their sacrifice and what their gift to the Empire has been. Therefore, in that respect, these years probably are women's years.

Throughout Canada, in August, 1914, when the call to arms was heard, men and women made answer from the Dominion which has left no doubt in the mind of the Mother Country as to our attitude to the war. It was at that time that the existing patriotic organizations set the wheels of their machinery in motion for the making of hospital supplies and making of comforts for our soldiers at the front and in the trenches. And the gigantic whirr of work has been heard ever since from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And when one speaks of work I see before me so many men who have contributed over and over again and steadily to the work whch has been done in Toronto—which they know probably as well as I do myself from their womankind working so hard—therefore I won't go into a description in the way of the kind of work that has been done to produce some of the organizations. But the work was hard.

The Canadian Red Cross naturally stands first in our thoughts. Men and women together have worked for the Red Cross. And perhaps as one thinks one is almost thankful with the thought of all that has been done for our sick and wounded soldiers by that Society. It is almost like treading on sacred ground to mention the activities in connection with the Red Cross that are already so well known.

The Daughters of the Empire added thousands of members to an already efficient organization and I believe have trebled their membership since and given $2,500,000 as their money contribution.

In every province throughout the Dominion the Women's Institutes have so ably done their part, and only some of us who know the conditions in the country and the tremendous obstacles that they have to surmount, the tremendous difficulties there, perhaps can realize what their great contribution to the Empire means, and to my mind it will stand, when the war is over, perhaps second to none. Those women have worked under, as we know, dreadful conditions but their offerings week after week are simply enormous.

Then the other organizations—and I know that I shall probably leave out perhaps some of the most important and maybe some that I know better than others—but in a large gathering such as this, one is anxious really to give credit to the various organizations, that have worked together really as a large sisterhood instead of different organizations.

One has in mind the work for the sailors that is done by the National Ladies' Guild for Sailors and the work it does for British Naval men and for the Mercantile Marine, by the homes, institutes and clubs that exist in Canada both on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. And as those homes and those clubs increase in numbers the greater effort must be put forth; but it is all done generally so quietly, so unostentatiously, that one is surprised and gratified when the results are made known. Queen Mary's Guild or the Guild makes weekly shipments for the work that the Queen has so near her heart. It is a work which she has under her personal direction and supervision.

The Volunteer Hospital Supplies Association, as we know, has done a wonderful work. It came into existence for No. 4 Canadian Hospital. Not only did it do the work of equipping that hospital but ever since it has gone on week after week with its enormous output. Thousands of cases have been sent by the Association to France, to the French Red Cross and also to the British Red Cross and to our own. So, that those women have done an enormous work, one that will always stand out.

The teachers—we owe thanks to the teachers of the schools for the kind of work they have done, their example to the children, because their example has been an excellent one. Not only do they instil the patriotic spirit of this great war into the children's hearts but they have given up a certain amount of their pay, if you might say it, each month, and their work has been so well done and also so wonderfully and harmoniously managed.

With the other organizations, I may say there has never been a higher, greater call, more direct call for higher service than there has been during this war and there has never been a more willing response. Great bodies of women have worked, and worked harmoniously as we all know.

When one thinks of the various organizations such as the St. John's Ambulance, from which has come the war work of the V.A.D., and I am speaking, of course, now of women's work which has been given to the Empire—there are many of course who are perhaps in volunteer organizations which I cannot mention to-day. But the work such as the women's emergency corps was quite wonderful. They did the first registration of women to take men's places, women's volunteer corps.

The League of Empire in its great educational work, and it has ever since been sending to the soldiers, also has been magnificent.

Then we think of the canteen workers, those women who go to the canteens, that volunteer service from early morning to late at night. They go on early shifts and late ones, and they are always there helping.

In the beginning of the war we cannot forget the women workers who helped so materially in the Exhibition Camp. There those women kept young boys, boys who had come from the country perhaps, off the street a little. These boys had just come from small places, they had just left their mothers, quite, quite young, and their amusement was provided for them, recreation and good food. I think, perhaps, the good food appeals to all of us women who realize that in these long marches those men had then, that that food meant a great deal to them.

That work of the canteen workers is going on still as we know, and women day after day—very important women—have given up their time to it, young girls who used to have such a good time, are all hard at work in the canteens. And in connection with that there is the hostel work which is being taken up with the canteens also.

I am afraid I am making it like an annual report of work, but it is very difficult when one wants to give credit to each organization not to make it more or less stilted in style.

Then when we think of the great work for the French as well ; France has thanked the women of the Secours National for the great work that has been done through that body of women not only in Toronto—when I speak of Toronto it seems to me that one is speaking for the whole of Canada, for what has been done here has been done in every province and every city and every village and every hamlet, everything that can be done for our brave men is naturally being done.

The Serbian Relief is another great organization. It is looking after all work, and on that men work as well as women. The women's organizations are so large ; they have been handled so carefully. And perhaps those of us who do a great deal of shipping realize what sacrifice and work and the hardships on women it must have been ever since the war began.

I might say as one of the shippers that we look upon ourselves—looking at so many of you who have contributed to our funds and our work—we look upon ourselves as trustees, holding that work in trust for you until it reaches the soldiers for whom it is intended.

The Toronto Women's Patriotic League has been wonderfully successful in its various departments, there has been the knitting department, the emergency workroom, employment bureau, various departments such as Belgian Relief Fund and soldiers' comforts department ; all of those departments have been wonderfully successful since the beginning of the war. In connection with that work all over women's patriotic organizations seem to have sprang up almost over night. They formed themselves throughout Canada to make supplies, to pass them on in order that they could be shipped as fast as possible overseas.

One also thinks of the churches. I think that God has blessed the work in the churches. We have gone to speak for our work from church to church realizing the tremendous importance of that work. Not only the work that the churches have been doing for the soldiers, because that is simply overwhelming and enormous, but the work that they have done in bringing all classes of women together. All denominations work so happily ; we all know the long table, and since I see these long ones in front of me it reminds me a little of the great tables with the women working together. There the rich and poor work ; there all classes meet together. And in this work one hears continuously the whirr of the sewing machine, the clicking of the shears and click of the knitting needles and in the distance the hammering down of the cases with the finished supplies for overseas, and the great sympathy and harmony that exists between the women who work together there.

Perhaps one of the church meetings that stands out in my mind more clearly than any others was in the Parish house of the Church of England in a small place not very far from Toronto. There the President of the patriotic workers within this church was a Church of England woman. Her Vice-Presidents were Presbyterians and Methodists ; her Secretary was a Roman Catholic; her Treasurer was of another Church. At one of the long tables sat the wife of the coloured minister and her dark sisters, the parishioners there, there with her. They were ready to turn their hand to anything, as the coloured minister's wife said to me, "We are only too eager to help to win this war." And so they were working. At another table were the Girl Guides ; at other tables factory girls came in after a time. And I thought that small place, it was an example to us all,—all churches and all classes of women working so happily and so beautifully together.

Then there have been the other large societies, large political associations on both sides had worked hard on patriotic lines ever since the beginning of the war. We have the Wartime Thrift Committee which, if ever a thrift Committee was needed, is needed at this time. We have a member of it with us, Mrs. Warren. Perhaps we are all members of that and we realize that we should all be. That has been a work—perhaps we could not call it a work—but it is important on educational lines that seems to be at the present moment one of the highest and greatest works that we can do.

Now, the raising of funds has been of great difficulty, and it would take hours, perhaps, to speak of all the small clubs and all the small patriotic organizations that have managed to keep their funds up to the highest standard in order to send out their supplies. When large sums have been found necessary the tag days have been managed by women and carried out effectively and the funds have been carefully distributed. Women have felt it a privilege in going in with the campaign for funds, such as helping with the Patriotic Fund campaign and the British Red Cross campaign ; also the one that the Patriotic Fund went in with the Canadian Red Cross. I think we all felt our privilege in doing a little part of what the men showed us they could do in such a wonderful and enormous way.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to say very much more. There is so much that we can say but we realize that it is wartime, that men are busy just as we are and they must not be kept too long.

I think that the war has taught us a great many lessons. It has certainly taught us sympathy and understanding. It has brought together, as I said before, all classes of the community in our work in a way that we shall never forget. Women at the outbreak of war pledged themselves to care for every man, every Canadian who offered his services in the defence of the Empire. And I think that it has been fairly well carried out. We have cared for our men. They are cared for before they leave Canada ; they are cared for in the trenches, in the present camps, in the hospitals in England. And you all know that we do our best for them when they come back to the Convalescent Hospital here. The only thing I think that we can pray and hope for is that our women may keep up their health and strength to do their part to help on the work of those soldiers who are fighting for us for the freedom of the world.

By a rising vote the thanks of the assembly was accorded to Mrs. Arthur Van Koughnet.

THE MESSAGE OF WESTERN TO EASTERN CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY REV. G. C. PIDGEON, D.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
May 10, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—You will not misunderstand me in speaking on this topic. The West is not posing as the instructress of the East : she is not issuing any manuals on how children should bring up their parents ; but some of us went West to see how she was assimilating the teachings that we had been so diligently giving her for the past quarter or half century, and after coming in contact with the vigorous life and incisive thinking of the West we were glad to sit at their feet and learn the lessons taught by their experience. Of course we had to send teachers to the West. We gave them their start in material things, and if their progress was to be intellectual and moral as well as material we needed to help them along this other line also. But I doubt if we ever really appreciated the difficulty of reproducing Eastern in Western Canada. After all, the determining element in the life of any community or country is the atmosphere in which its people live. Now, you cannot transplant an atmosphere. You may take men who have been literally moulded by the spirit of a certain place and send them to another place, but they cannot take with them the atmosphere that made them what they are. They are different in the new environment ; their surroundings are different ; the people they meet are different ; and the atmosphere will be different.

It is said that the most prosperous and ambitious Western University undertook to transplant Harvard Law School to its own site, thinking by their greater resources to attract a large number of Harvard's best men. But the Law School did not go with them ; it stayed where it was, and its traditions, its ideals, and its spirit moulded the new men just as they had moulded the men who had previously been taught there. Those men had come at an earlier date into that atmosphere ; it had established their teaching far more than they realized ; and when they moved they could not take it with them.

The same is true as to the effect of the East on the West. There are entirely new elements entering into the life of that country. There is the land itself, and I doubt if we realize how varied are the influences that the country itself is bringing to bear on its people. You have the mountains and the valleys of the interior of British Columbia bringing up a proud and sensitive Highland race—just as proud and just as sensitive as any of those from the Old Land. You have those vast prairies, where they mark their farms by the parallels of latitude, with all the influences brought to bear upon the men there.

You have the human elements. Eastern Canada has contributed one ; the United States has contributed another ; the old Motherland has contributed two or three ; Europe has contributed many ; and all those different elements coming together on that new soil will produce a national temper and spirit and outlook peculiarly their own. We must recognize that when those tributaries flow with increasing volume into the stream of Canada's public life it will not only add to its size and depth, but it will change its whole character.

When you go West certain things impress you. I suppose one finds very largely what he looks for, or sees things in his own line ; but I fancy there are some things that would strike every observer. The first of these is the hopefulness of the West. That is manifest even in these days of reaction ; they have unbounded confidence in their country and in themselves. In the old days they used to divide men into two classes —knockers and boosters. The knocker was a public nuisance, no matter how well-grounded his pessimism; they would very gladly accept that modern definition of a pessimist—"The man who Fletcherizes his quinine pill." We all have our bitter doses to take; if you have, bolt it and be done with it, and turn to something else. On the other hand, the booster was a public benefactor, no matter how ill-grounded his optimism. A friend of mine, visiting one of the rising communities of the West, met a recent immigrant from the South who had brought into this new land all its optimism. He said, "This is the grandest country on earth, and this is the finest town; we've got them all skinned to death already." My friend the next morning counted the houses and shacks, and they numbered just 23. I think we can all see what evil effects that spirit has had. You will certainly be able to understand it if you have studied any way closely the story of Western booms and collapses, or if you have ventured your savings on the absolutely certain growth of a certain town of which you never heard before and are not likely ever to hear again. But after all, it has had its benefits on the life of the community. Here was their problem; they tried to make one dollar do the work of ten; as a matter of fact they succeeded only in making it do the work of seven. That extra three dollars, on which with true Western hopefulness they counted and lost, has meant disaster for very many of them; but the fact that made the one do the work of seven will be reckoned as an achievement well worthy of our race. When you study the growth of a community like, say, Calgary or Vancouver, over a period that would cover their different economic changes, you cannot but feel that its progress has been phenomenal. One of the chief factors of that progress has been the spirit and courage of its people; and I feel that we need that in Eastern Canada as well. We have just as much to be proud of as they have.

Where has nature been more lavish than in the coal fields of Nova Scotia, or the forests and streams of Quebec and New Brunswick, or the oil and the orchards of Ontario, and the agricultural resources of them all ? And then there is no beauty like ours. I remember coming, one autumn, from the Rockies down to the valley of the Metapedia, just after the first frost, and the magnificence of that valley made me feel that the East has nothing to apologize for in scenery even when compared with the grandeur of the West. Yet you rarely hear the Eastern province man magnify the possibilities of his own province ; and simply because of that temper our best have gone out from us to accomplish great things elsewhere. I think if we had a little more of the optimism of the West it would be better for all concerned.

Another thing that I noticed in the West, particularly on my last visit, was the resoluteness and confidence with which they are taking hold of their problems. They do not feel that years of agitation should be necessary to bring about any needed reform. Once convince them that a measure was wise and just, and in the public interest, and they felt that they would immediately put it into effect ; that was the attitude ; and if you have studied the recent history of their political house-cleaning as well as some of the moral reform movements that have swept over the country you will see how prevalent and how practical that temper is.

Perhaps we might criticize them in this regard from one or two different viewpoints. First, they have not taken advantage, as they should have done, of the mistakes that the older lands have made. They talk about them readily enough ; but if you study the province of British Columbia and see how its immense natural resources have been alienated not so much for purposes of development as of speculation, you would feel that they have lost a magnificent opportunity for making the most out of the country they received. Then, very often their practical spirit is a handicap. A thoughtful young fellow was told by a friend of his, after hearing a testimony on some general principle, "The West doesn't want that sort of thing ; they want something practical." He replied, "That's just what is wrong with you ; you are not willing to study the great principles through, by which alone you can understand the character and direction of your action, and then you are surprised when you see the outcome." They have made that mistake ; they have been so immersed in the problems of the moment that they have forgotten the larger issues. Yet the West is correcting that mistake. One of the Western professors said to me, "The proportion of the students who are choosing the cultural subjects against the practical is about five to one," and while they are insisting that their universities, on which they are spending lavishly, shall keep in close touch with the lives of the people, they are also insisting that on the great subjects that are included in sound scholarship the instruction they have shall be of the best.

Another feature that one notices in Western life is the courage with which they have broadened the basis of our democracy. Of course we have manhood suffrage as well as they have ; but manhood suffrage means something different in the West from what it does here—such an immense proportion of their population are new immigrants. The statement was made at a conference in Saskatchewan that of their population of 750,000, 300,000 were foreign-speaking. In British Columbia large numbers of men who have votes under this system are what John Pringle used to call "the loose of foot"—men who have no binding home-ties, no stock in the country, no fixed habitation, who live in the lumber camps, construction camps, mining camps ; and the fact that those men have the franchise means that often they will choose that which gratifies the desire of the moment rather than that which is for the country's ultimate good, and they will listen to the leader who appeals to—well, not the best that is in them. Social reformers have been sorely perplexed by the delays that this element has caused ; yet the West has gone on the principle that it is better for the people to find out what is best for them, even by their own mistakes, than to impose the best on them by an autocracy, no matter how benevolent. They find, moreover, that when people meet to consider conditions under which all must live they will choose the right thing.

I remember a friend of mine living in the Klondike in the days of the Miners' Council, and he said, "We had a lot of characters in that Council who would be regarded as pretty wild, reckless men ; and yet when you got them together to make rules or laws under which all had to live, these men would invariably choose the right thing." The West has worked on that principle ; and while everything is not smooth, it has worked.

Look at the development of the West in the last two years, the political results in provinces like British Columbia and Manitoba, and you cannot deny that the democracy is sound at heart. I know that some of those elections, when you look at them in the light of the present depression, are very much like any man would be the morning after the night before when he realizes what he has done, and he hits the first thing in sight ; but study the whole thing at first hand, as some of us have had the privilege of doing, and you cannot deny that democracy is sound at heart.

The West has led in giving the vote to women. The basis underlying that is that the government of a democracy ought to represent all shades of opinion ; that it cannot be truly representative unless it does. Now, most men spend their lives in business concerns, while women spend theirs in the atmosphere of the home. The first concern of the man is to provide the wherewithal of life ; the first concern of the woman is human life. In a democracy both those viewpoints ought to be represented if you are to have a sound, sane policy that would meet the views of all the community ; one must not be emphasized to the exclusion of the other. That is the principle on which they have gone.

Speaking as a citizen, and not as a preacher, I doubt very much if we have realized the change that the abolition of the liquor trade and the giving of the votes to women is going to make in the public life of these provinces. I am not going to discuss the barroom; but it has been a political factor, has it not? Now it has gone, and a great many people are without any political anchorage, and the man who may appeal to all classes of voters as now constituted will necessarily be of a different type from the one who could appeal to the narrower constituencies of the past.

Another thing that strikes one in going to the West is the new community spirit that is springing up, especially on the Western plains; and I do wish we could learn that lesson. We have been so inclined to take all that the community would give us, and let it go at that, without realizing how those benefits were brought into vogue. While in Winnipeg I heard the story of a self-made man who was very proud of the job, who was showing some friends over the mansion which he had built, and he said, "I have earned every dollar myself; I never got a cent from anybody; I borrow from no man.; I lend to no man." At that moment the electric lights went out, and a man ran in and told him the company had cut off the current because he had forgotten to pay the bill. Then the rich man woke up to the fact that he was a member of a community. That is the new spirit in the West, that has arisen, as I see it, from the following things: First, there was the old idea of Western liberty. I recently read a distinction between the French conception of liberty and the British conception of freedom—the latter being the maintenance of the rights of the individual under the laws of the land, but in strict subordination to those laws; while the French idea was rather that the man should have the privilege of doing what was right in his own eyes, and also what was wrong in his own eyes, if he so chose. Now, the West had this latter idea of liberty; that was one of their traditions, and they worked it through, and they found it was not good.

Then there has been the fearful isolation of life, particularly on the prairies, so fatal to the mentality of many men, and also of women. A few days ago a splendid young fellow was brought down to the asylum in Regina stark mad. People had to get together, else they would go mad ; they had to co-operate in that country in buying seed and other things. That has led them to look at things from the community viewpoint, and all their thinking is in terms of the community. They value the school not merely for the education it brings the child, but from the contribution it makes to the community life. When members of the government as well as social leaders were in conference I have heard them say, "In a foreign community, if you can get a teacher, male or female, preferably both,—that is, a married man—who has caught the social viewpoint and the spirit of social service, you have solved the problem of that place." In one place, if a married man will take a school, bringing his wife with him, they will give him ten acres of land, the work on which must be done by the scholars as part of their school course, as is the work in the home to be done by the girls under the direction of the teacher's wife. The immense possibilities of a teacher's work in such a foreign community can be seen. This illustration shows their idea of the school as a social centre. They are making the same issue of the church as a social centre. They are not turning away from what is vital in the church. Those Western men are not limiting the church's religious work, but they insist that the religious work should be fitted into the needs of the community in which that work is done, and they aim to make the whole life of the entire community higher and better than it is. I have no time to develop this ; but when you think what that means in the way of town planning, or in regard to the social conditions of the community as a whole, you will realize its importance. You cannot divide a town into watertight compartments and say that the evil from which this little district suffers will not affect the whole ; a moral infection or a social wrong anywhere will affect the entire place.

When the Western spirit catches the East, and we view the problems of all our cities in the light of the life of the community as a whole, when we see that it is one thing for the community to provide the means of living and another thing to provide the real living, we will rise to a higher life and escape many of the evils from which we suffer to-day.

Another interesting thing in the West is the new national spirit, the spirit of Canadian nationhood. The need of this is very, very urgent, chiefly because of the volume of our immigration. When the flood of immigration was at its highest in the United States it never in any year exceeded one and one-half per cent. of the population, but Canada's immigration was four and a half per cent. in 1912-13 ; it was five per cent. in 1913-14. When you consider than an unassimilated body in a nation's constitution is as dangerous as an unassimilated mass in an individual's stomach you can see the menace that means to the whole life of the country. Therefore you see influences at work to develop a narrow nationalism, insisting in some of those nations that they should conserve their language and their customs, and so build up a nation within a nation. There were actually congresses called for that purpose, but before they convened they had to be cancelled. That influence had been countered by the efforts of Canadian movements among the people themselves. I have seen resolutions from a convention in which one censured the government for teaching only their own language and things which, they said, were nothing but the memorials of an unhappy past.

In one district in Northern Alberta the recruiting for different regiments was carried on, and from this district the recruits that went into one regiment were 65 per cent. Ruthenian ; in another, 85 per cent. Ruthenian ; and in most cases those men were going to fight for the land of their adoption against the land of their fathers' birth.

There is one young man there whose story is most romantic. He was a Russian of noble blood ; he fought in the Japanese war. After coming back, owing to some wrongs he turned into a fiery revolutionist, and led out movements against the government until he had to flee. He came over to Canada with those ideas in his mind. Here the idea of patriotism and religion got hold of him and he has thrown himself into the movement of swinging his countrymen into the strongest devotion to Canadian ideals. Months ago he heard of a meeting of Ruthenians that was to be held in New York for the purpose of organizing the Ruthenians of the United States for help to Austria in the present conflict. He got leave from the principal of the college where he is a student in the West, visited American cities on the way, and took with him to New York delegations from those cities to the meeting. When the meeting opened he took the floor and succeeded in carrying a resolution against the very purpose for which that meeting was called. His name is P. C. Cross ; he is studying in Saskatchewan.

The problem is not wholly settled, but this movement is at work, and is producing great results on the life of the country as a whole, and I think the West has a right to speak to us along the lines of national unity. Think of the contribution they have made of their men in the great war.

> "If blood be the price of sovereignty,
> Good Lord, they have paid in full."

The testimony of the West is that unity of all races and creeds is absolutely essential to the national life and national health of Canada. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the schismatic is abroad in our land. It is so easy to arouse suspicion and sow the seeds of mutual disagreement and dislike, instead of cultivating those enormously larger things that all races and all creeds in Canada have in common. If our people are let alone they will grow together, which is the natural tendency. Men of thought and men of action must set their faces like flint against the schismatic, or mischief will be done in the present crisis that will be almost irreparable. We have great problems in Canada, but we have also great possibilities, and it will take the utmost efforts of all our people to make this country what it ought to be. A friend said to me the other day, after speaking of the rather discouraging fight we had along certain lines, "Yes, but when you think of the very bigness of the things you have to grapple with here you ought to be proud of the opportunity." That is just it ; but it will take the most and the best that is in us to rise to that opportunity and make Canada a united nation, standing for principles of liberty and righteousness and justice as in our dreams we picture her in the days to come.

Dr. Goggin moved a vote of thanks to the speaker, which was seconded by Rev. Dr. Hall and carried.

THREE YEARS OF GERMANY'S WAR ON THE UNITED STATES

AN ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN R. RATHOM
Editor, *Providence Journal*

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
June 15, 1917

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have come to the conclusion in the last forty-eight hours that it is a whole lot harder to live up to this reputation than it was to make it. I do not know whether you, gentlemen, many of whom, I presume, are more or less accustomed to going out into public life, know the real brain of the newspaper man, which, like the modest violet, seeks all the seclusion possible. That is the reason why these gatherings embarrass one who has lived the cloistered life for at least three years past. Your President's introduction rather knocked me off my feet. It reminded me of a story I told once in his presence concerning the late unlamented Mr. W. J. Bryan. Bryan was invited down by the Governor of one of the Mexican States to see a bull fight across the border one Sunday, and he went and occupied the Governor's box in the presence of about thirty thousand enthusiastic Mexicans. Three very fine bulls were brought out and killed, and the fourth bull, a most ferocious beast, came out and killed two matadors and three or four battledores and shuttlecocks, and then made straight for the Governor's box. Everybody in the box got away, but Mr. Bryan, brave man that he was, stood right there, and drawing a revolver, jumped into the ring. The animal was just at the moment about to gore to death a poor horse that was almost in its dying agonies, and it was up to Mr. Bryan to make a very rapid choice, either to put the poor animal out of its misery or turn around and face the infuriated brute that was rushing on him. He did not hesitate a moment ; he killed the horse. He knew he could shoot the bull any time.

When I was coming across the line, on the International Bridge at Black Rock the day before yesterday, I thought to myself, here are two countries, probably the only two countries in the world, to which the boundary line, so-called, is really nothing but a surveyor's myth. So overgrown with the affectionate regard of both peoples, and so obliterated by the same spiritual and moral and mental influences, that, gentlemen, for all practical purposes of daily living and brotherhood living side by side, the boundary line is non-existent. If that condition has been true during the past twenty or thirty years, it certainly has been infinitely more true during the past thirty or forty days. It was a long struggle. The vast majority of the American people from the very beginning were heart and soul, morally and spiritually, with the Allies, and if a certain amount of timidity was apparent at headquarters, you must remember, gentlemen, that these men who were put into that position were men in the ordinary walks of life, with no special training for that sort of problem, and they did the best they could, not, unfortunately, to lead public opinion, but to follow it, and the time did come, and we cannot be too grateful for it, when they realized and were compelled to realize that public opinion demanded action. The condition in the United States—and I want to dwell on this for a moment because I want to have you gentlemen understand what it is—since we entered the war, has shown the marvellous adaptability of the American people. In forty or fifty days they have accomplished wonders. I am not speaking of the President or his cabinet, but the good common sense after all that has brought about the President and his cabinet a hundred and fifty to two hundred of the brightest commercial brains in the world. We have now in Washington purchasing our coal, running our steel business, buying our shoes, giving orders for our millions of yards of cotton duck tentage, our rubber goods, everything in the way of food and supplies that our armies and the European armies will need,—men who know what they are talking about, the leaders in their own lines of business. The great millionaire coal operators are there, so that when the coal companies came to them and made a price for eight hundred thousand tons of coal for Italy at $6.85 a ton, these gentlemen said, "You will give us that coal for $4.95 a ton," and when they began to argue that it was a price that would send them into bankruptcy, these men were able to tell them down to a dollar what the cost of mining and shipping the coal was. That is going on in every department of the Government to-day and we have already saved forty or fifty million dollars in that way. But the main point is this, that our machinery, a little slow to get into motion, is in motion, and the statement made by our President is literally and actually true that the United States is in this thing to her last dollar and her last drop of blood.

The thing that I suppose you want me to tell you something about, I will not delay longer in coming to. I know that these luncheon meetings are brief, and you gentlemen have other things to do. We were very fortunate at the beginning of this war to have had for some eight or ten years what our newspaper friends termed a bug on wireless. The *Providence Journal* has maintained two very powerful wireless stations for over nine years at points on our coast that are very dangerous to shipping, one at Point Judith and one on Block Island, and some good angel at the beginning of the war gave us the idea of listening in to Sayville and Tuckerton. Well, after two or three weeks listening in we were greatly puzzled. We could not understand why the men in leading German-American banks in New York should be sending messages to the Deutscher Bank in Berlin asking how George's vegetables were coming along. We could not understand why our stock market quotations, apparently going over as genuine quotations for all our best known stocks, were ridiculously off colour as regards figures. Then we had a series of mysterious words that could not be understood, jumbles of figures that could not be understood, and quietly, without saying anything, we set to work to see what we could do to find out what all these things meant. Well, it was five or six months before we let anybody know that we were watching Sayville, and after we had been fortunately able to decipher many of these messages and had got into our hands material enough to keep us going with exposures for ten or fifteen years if necessary, we went to the President of the United States with the notes of what Sayville had been doing and I asked the President in the presence of the Secretary of the Navy and a number of the members of the Cabinet if he believed in the Pythagorean theory. He said no, he did not, and I said, "Do you believe that little Emily can die of nine different diseases on nine separate days and can be laid in a different corner of the parlor in a different wooden coffin with different kinds of flowers on the coffin, and be buried in a different named cemetery alongside of a different named uncle on nine days running?" He said no, he did not believe it. Two days later, Sayville was closed up. In connection with that we discovered a rather interesting condition, namely, that the Secretary of the Navy had issued orders from the beginning of the war that the Sayville wireless station was to be watched by the great wireless station at Brooklyn Navy Yard, but for some reason, which we discovered later, no such watching had been carried out. The result was that when we presented our evidence, the Secretary of the Navy indignantly asked how they could tell whether this stuff was really wireless or not. Our very logical reply was, "Why don't you know whether it is wireless or not?" and we discovered that the gentleman at the head of the wireless division of the Brooklyn Navy Yard had presented a report which he was supposed to have made on Sayville, to the German Ambassador five days before it reached the hands of our own Government. We know, because we gave a copy of that report to Secretary Daniels five days before he got it from the gentleman. As a matter of fact the material we secured after deciphering a great many of these wireless codes enabled us to place into the offices of the Consuls and Consul Generals throughout the country of Austria and Germany, and in the German Embassy itself, our own representatives. Our representative in the German Embassy was placed there on the suggestion of a very prominent German-American banker who went to Count Von Bernstorff, knowing that he wanted an assistant secretary, and suggested that this man would fill the bill ; and the reason why the German-American banker went to Count Bernstorff his friend was because we had positive proof that would have landed this gentleman in the United States penitentiary, and the cost of his freedom was that action. He kept his word and we have kept ours. It was not until Mr. Bernstorff left New York for Halifax on the Frederick VIII., twenty minutes before his ship left the dock, that he realized that all was not right with his second secretary, because that gentleman, instead of coming aboard the Frederick VIII., kissed him good bye on the dock. He said, "What does this mean ?" and the Secretary said, "I am not coming, sir," and I think that on the way up to Halifax the facts must have dawned on the ambassador. That man was in the Embassy for seventeen months ; he was a common, ordinary, garden brand of reporter. Our policy to put these men into these various offices gave us of course a tremendously valuable insight into everything they were doing. For the first year of our investigations and disclosures, very naturally the press of the country and the public men of the country too, were rather chary about believing them. It did seem incredible, it did seem as if no civilized nation could be guilty of what those people were guilty of through their official channels, but after that period, when the facts became known, for the following three years, we have been very happy because the press of the United States has most liberally supported us, and the press of Canada of course also, in giving full publicity to everything we have printed ; in fact, so generously have they done this, and so remarkably have they taken our material, that the circulation of our papers has not increased perceptibly at all. One day our representative in the German Embassy informed us that he had been instructed by Captain Boy-Ed to come to New York and select a suite of six quiet rooms in which Captain Boy-Ed could meet Mr. Heurta. Naturally enough I could do nothing less than help to pick out the six quiet rooms, so we secured a suite of six rooms at the Manhattan Hotel in New York. The next day Captain Boy-Ed with an interpreter and several members of the staff came to inhabit these rooms, and in order to make assurance doubly sure, one of our other reporters was the gentleman who drove the motor car which brought Mr. Heurta from the Ansonia Hotel to the meeting place. We wanted to be sure when we got everything ready that they would really meet. In the meantime these rooms had been rigged up with various little devices for overhearing what they said, devices made by the way in Germany. The day after that conference we were fortunately able to present to the United States Government through the President himself a full and complete report of those proceedings.

One day one of our young women, who through somewhat similar methods, had been put in the office of the Austrian Consul General, Von Nuber, in New York City, as a stenographer, informed us that a large packing box was being prepared to be sent on the Oscar II. through Falmouth to Stockholm and from there down to Germany. This box contained a tremendous lot of evidence of the plots that had been carried out against our country and our munition plants with the actual sums of money that it cost to pay the men that committed these deeds. The day this box was to be finally nailed up, this young woman, under instructions, stayed and ate her luncheon in the office. There were only two or three people left in the office during the lunch hour ; one of them was Captain Von Papen, the German military attache, a man with a weakness like that of a good many of us, for beauty and talent in feminine form. This young lady answered that description and Captain Von Papen proceeded to make love to her, sitting on this box, a packing case some three or four feet square. We could not possibly stop the box on this side so the only thing we cared about was to identify the box by marking it so that the British officers in the first port of call could get it from among the hundreds of other articles in the hold of that ship. This young lady, taking out a heavy red crayon pencil, and listening to Papen's advances, drew sentimentally two large red hearts on the top of that box—and it was Captain Von Papen himself who took the pencil and put the arrow through the hearts. The British authorities informed us and we have their word for it, that that was the method of identification of that box when it reached Falmouth.

When Dr. Heinrich Albert, who was the fiscal agent of the German Government in the United States, reached New York, it was vitally necessary for us, if we would, to establish some connection with him. He went to the Ritz Hotel surrounded by a very large staff of men ; and a letter which he had written the day before sailing had reached Washington and had been secured by our representative in the Embassy, so that on the Sunday morning, the day after he reached New York, I appeared at the Ritz Hotel with this letter in my hand. After getting an audience with the gentleman, I said, "You understand, sir, that the Ambassador is in the Adirondacks. I cannot tell you who I am, I cannot even say what I am doing here, but you of course can identify this letter," and he said he could. Then I said, "Of course you realize, too, that in times like this we have to be extremely careful, and while you are here in this room I do not know you and you may be one of the Doctor's staff, and I want, and I hope you will pardon me for wanting it, some real assurance of your personality ; I want to know that you are Dr. Albert." Well, he sweat blood so long trying to convince me that he was Dr. Albert, that he entirely forgot the identity of the person he was talking to ; he did not think of it. We sat down and had a comfortable chat for an hour and a half, and the letter went on to Washington and was opened on Monday, and on Tuesday when Dr. Albert went down to Washington and was greeted by his friend, the Ambassador, the first thing Dr. Albert said—and I am quite sure he said it, because my man was close when he said it—was to tell the Ambassador of the charming personality of the gentleman he had sent to him the day before. Well, at that interview with Dr. Albert we secured some very interesting material which we followed up later on. You probably remember, although you will not know till a moment or two later the circumstances of the discovery, of the incriminating documents which sent the Ambassador Dumba, the Austrian Ambassador, home within forty-eight hours. Our representatives were staying rather close to Dr. Albert because conditions were getting very interesting. We knew that he had secured some twenty-eight million dollars through the Guarantee Trust Company in New York for that work, and we were anxious to see, if we could, how some of this money was being spent. One day Dr. Albert himself walked into a leather goods store in New York City and ordered a lawyer's portfolio for carrying papers, ordering the bag to be marked. After he left the store our representative immediately bought a similar portfolio at the same place and on being asked if he wanted it marked with initials, he said he would come back the next morning and see how the other gentleman's bag looked. He did, and after seeing the form of the letters, took his bag into another place and had it lettered in a similar fashion. The next day, Saturday, Dr. Albert left his office down town on Broadway and boarded an elevated train, and up in the forties, two young men apparently drunk, started to wrestle with the conductor, and everybody in the car getting up in an excited way to see what the trouble was, a young man behind Dr. Albert took advantage of that moment to substitute one portfolio containing a lot of newspapers for the other. That portfolio was at once taken to our headquarters in New York and ripped open—we could not unlock it—and we found what we were looking for.

Dr. Albert stated later that he had informed the police immediately after he left the train ; as a matter of fact, and fortunately for us, Dr. Albert didn't discover his loss for some time later. He went into the house ; on Saturday evening he went to a threatre ; on Sunday morning he came in a silk hat and took a walk in the park and on Sunday afternoon he and his wife went in a motor car to Coney Island, everything serene and happy. On Monday morning, about five minutes to eight, a madman with dishevelled hair, rushed down the apartment steps and called for a policeman. That was the moment that he discovered the loss. Those documents were given at once to the Secret Service and two days later Ambassador Dumba, who the day before had gone to the Department and protested that he was being treated in inhuman fashion by the newspapers of the United States, particularly our paper, was ordered home.

The Du Pont explosion which wrecked two of their big powder buildings at the cost of three or four million dollars and destroyed the lives of thirty-one men who were blown to pieces in a moment, was followed the next night by a conference at a home in Brooklyn, at which conference were present four German-Americans, one of our representatives, Captain Boy-Ed and Captain Von Papen, and there those gentlemen opened champagne and drank to the health of the man who had done this deed, and the man himself was there, and with great relish told exactly how it happened. We informed the Government of these conditions ; we gave them practically, although not really, a stenographic report of everything that was said there, and that cumulative testimony, on top of the thousand things we had already piled into the Government day after day and week after week about these two men, resulted three days later in their being ordered home. You probably remember the day Von Papen left he paid his respects to the *Providence Journal* and declared it was a rotten sheet paid by British gold and that it was full of false charges against him. Captain Von Papen also delivered an oration from the dock about the *Providence Journal.* He went a little further; he said in his country papers of this type were torn down and their editors put in prison. In fact, the same spirit was shown by Mr. Bernstorff, who wrote a letter to Mr. Lansing, demanding that we be stopped at once from publishing any more papers. He was told by Mr. Lansing that this was not Germany, and that if he felt aggrieved he could go to the courts of Rhode Island.

The entire German propaganda was based upon two important ideas in the minds of these German people. Our President, I think unfortunately, and supported unfortunately by an immense lot of people in our own country, and I have no doubt by the same people in this country, has declared that German devil idea, "the good German people." Our experiences have all run the other way. The trouble with the German people is that they have a State-made mind. Whatever they are told from above, that is gospel. That is one of the great difficulties with them and that is one of the reasons why Bethmann-Hollweg and the other gentlemen could not understand why when they told the American people a certain thing was so, we did not at once believe it. They cannot understand that frame of mind; all they understand about us is that we are a lot of fools and children, and the reason why we have been fortunately able in the last two years and a half to make these disclosures is simply because they felt that there was no cleverness in the world but their own. We have realized in every investigation we have made that if we kept on far enough and carefully enough we would come to a place with a hole in it that a school boy could crawl through. They forgot in their real intelligence in certain directions that other people may have some intelligence also. When we discovered this Werner Horn plot to blow up the Vanceboro bridge on your border, there was a very interesting sidelight on that frame of mind. I saw Horn myself, in fact we got his confession and made him sign it and then turned it over to the Secret Service. Horn detailed to us very elaborately that he let his beard grow for a week—he was a handsome clean-cut German officer—and he went out on that bridge that cold night with two German flags wrapt round his arms and he felt he was doing his military duty ; and he was, because he was ordered to do it by Captain Von Papen. He said he went down to West Street, bought a slop suit of clothes for $3, put on an old dinky cap and a shirt with no tie, and got an old carpet bag and a 90-cent pair of hob-nailed shoes ; and then after all these elaborate preparations which took him a week, he got on board the Merchant's Limited train from New York to Boston, the extra fare train, one of the best trains on the American continent, where every man, woman and child aboard stared at that apparition. I said to him, "Why did you do that after making all those wonderful preparations ? Why didn't you travel in an ordinary train ?" And standing up stiffly, he said, "Sir, I am an officer and a gentleman, and I do not travel any other way."

The way in which we discovered that Werner Horn was implicated in this case is rather interesting. There were three men who formed a fraudulent passport bureau for the German Government, who hired a room in Trinity Building, 111 Broadway, New York City. We discovered that they were there, from one of the Consul General's offices and we immediately hired the rooms on either side of these rooms ; on one of our doors I remember we had "Wholesale Swiss Toys," and on the other an accountant's name. After three weeks of rather patient waiting we got the run of the office and were able to see exactly what was going on, and we informed the Secret Service officers, who on a certain morning when these gentlemen came to work, took them away before they got their coats off. They are now in Atlanta. Their places were taken by three of our own *Providence Journal* men in their shirt sleeves, and it was not an hour after they got into their positions and had the scenery all set before Captain Von Papen walked into the room. Evidently he did not know any of these three men ; he had with him the German Naval Attache from Tokio and they had in their hands a list of German army officers in this country for whom fraudulent passports were requested by the Ambassador, on the Ambassador's own notepaper, and on the top of the list was Lieut. Werner Horn. That is how we first had the intimation that Werner Horn was an officer of the German army, because he strongly denied at first that he had any connection with the German army. When he signed his confession he said, "I received my money and orders from an officer not now in this country." He signed his name and I wrote underneath, "I declare the above to be true on my honour as a German officer," and I asked him to sign again. He refused. When I crossed out the word "not," so that it read, "An officer now in this country;" and he signed it. Three weeks later when we began to print *facsimiles* of Von Papen's cheques, we found the cheque to Werner Horn was made out in a personal cheque by Von Papen, which had been given to Von Papen by Bernstorff the day before.

You probably all remember the gentleman about whom I spoke, Mr. Bryan. Although we have tried to keep aloof from the personal element of revenge in this entire matter, we have reason to feel rather revengeful against Mr. Bryan. He came to Providence, hired by the Germans, paid we think a thousand dollars—it may have been less—and spent the entire night with an audience of over two thousand people denouncing the *Providence Journal*. We know he was sent by the German gang, that they paid for the hall and paid him for the performance. It was with great satisfaction a few weeks after that that I received from our energetic representative in the German Embassy a typewritten copy of a memorandum of agreement made between the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, and Ambassador Dumba, in which the Secretary of State of the United States declared that the Ambassador should not pay any attention to Mr. Wilson's declarations because they did not mean anything at all, and not to worry about them. When we printed that statement, and every paper in the United States printed it and gave us credit for it, Mr. Bryan started for the coast, and the *New York Times* and *New York World* and every other prominent paper in the country tried to head him off at every station and asked him whether this story was true or false ; but Mr. Bryan never from that day to this has replied whether that story was true or false. It was absolutely true, and as you all know a few days later Mr. Bryan was eliminated from the Cabinet of the United States.

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At the beginning of the struggle, I do not know how it came about really, but this was before we had anything actual from the wireless, before he had been able to discover a single code, and certainly before the Germans could have known anything about our activities, I was approached by the press agent of the Hamburg American Steamship Company, who came to Providence and asked me if I would not like to meet Captain Boy-Ed at the German Club in New York City. This being after we had begun to run these people down, I said I would be delighted, and I went down there one Sunday afternoon and a couple of pleasant hours we spent, during which time Captain Boy-Ed told me he felt that they had discovered a plot that should be given to the American press, and having been informed by this representative of the Hamburg American Company that our paper was influential in New England where this plot was hatched, he thought we ought to have the first chance on it. I said we would be very glad. He proceeded, with the help of Mr. Julius P. Meyer, the General Manager of the Hamburg American Company, a man who in my opinion ought to be in jail, and informed me that the British cruisers outside New York harbour were being provisioned right along, and fearful breaches of neutrality were committed through tugs and vessels going out to them every day outside of Sandy Hook ; and he offered very generously if we would use this story prominently, and send it all over the country through our connections, that he would give it to us and give us all the facilities for getting the facts. I said very well, and they brought four tug boat captains who gave us affidavits that they had carried these provisions out to these ships in the belief that they were carrying them out to American warships. Two days later, with the assistance of the collector of the Port of New York, Mr. Dudley Field Malone, we had their captains in the sweat box and they confessed that they had been bribed by the Hamburg American Company to sign those affidavits, and we then printed the real story of that transaction. As a matter of fact there was never even a newspaper sent aboard the British cruisers ; the Admiral at Halifax had given strict orders to that effect and they had been carried out.

Now I want to speak for a moment about a matter that I know has been a subject of considerable controversy on this side of the line. I am not referring to nickel—I am referring to the fire in the Ottawa Parliament Buildings. Frankly we do not know and have no means of knowing whether that fire was accidental or not, but all we do know is this, that three weeks before that fire our men in the German Embassy came to me—I was in our New York office at that time—and told me that that morning the plan for destroying the Ottawa Parliament buildings had been discussed and they were to be fired in three weeks from that date, and on that same day I went to Snowden Marshall, the United States District Attorney for New York, and made that statement to him, coupled with the statement that two or three munition factories in Canada were to be blown up at the same time. And three weeks to the day after I had made that statement, the Ottawa Parliament Buildings were destroyed, and within forty-eight hours of that time two of your munition factories were blown up. Now I am not prepared to say that this was anything but a coincidence, but if it was a coincidence, it was one of the most remarkable coincidences in the history of the world. The Attorney General of the United States declared that he had never received any such message. That statement was true ; I asked Mr. Marshall about that and he said no, he had not given it to the Attorney

General because it was one of a hundred things that they had got and the great majority of those things had for some reason or another never been pulled off ; but Mr. Marshall generously did give out through the Associated Press the statement that I had gone to him three weeks before the date and said what I have said. That is all we know about the Ottawa fire. I am quite content to believe that whatever happened probably could not be charged to carelessness or lack of foresight at Ottawa. I say that all the more honestly because in spite of the fact that we have had our own building guarded night and day we were blown up, the front of our entire building was blown out and the work was done practically in exactly the same manner. The fire started in a pile of newspapers in our Managing Editor's room, next to mine, five minutes after I reached my desk. In four or five seconds after it touched off a bomb and things were jumping there for quite a long while. Nobody was injured ; there was some property damaged which was paid for by the Insurance Companies. Our building was watched and it was a very easy building to watch. We have positive knowledge of course that that was incendiary—it was German propaganda work ; and I do not blame anybody in Ottawa or anywhere else for not being able to overcome the machinations of these people when they set out to do anything. What they have done in our country, gentlemen, is almost inconceivable. In addition to the hundreds of millions of dollars of property damaged and the thousands of workmen, innocent men, that they have sent to death in a moment, they have poisoned horses and mules by the thousands after leaving New Orleans in ships ; they have put bombs in ships, sugar ships and munition ships ; they have put every kind of poisonous substance in our Red Cross bandages being made by our good women ; they have gone to the limit of damnable inhumanity in a thousand different directions. One reason for that is not that they wanted to destroy life because they wanted to be murderers ; it is the idea of frightfulness. These people have still in their minds what they had in their minds three years ago, and I believe it is in their minds as strongly as ever, that they can frighten a people like the Anglo-Saxon people. They think they can. What do you think is the meaning of these zeppelin raids ? It is the old idea of the Japanese war mask ; it is the same idea, that they can frighten the Anglo-Saxon people to death. You know as well as I do that in these zeppelin raids the hardest thing the military authorities can do is to keep the people back in their homes ; they want to go out and see the blimy things. I read a report of the zeppelin raid and got feeling rather blue because I felt the air service was not doing its full duty and then I remembered that a friend had told me if ever I felt that things were going all wrong in this country to remember four little lines of verse ; and I have remembered them :

"So small a shield to hold so great a sign,
So small a sheath to hold so great a blade !
England, but in this darkest hour of thine
Those that have known thee best are least afraid."

Before I sit down I want to say one word about Canada. I do not know whether you realize the depth of sentiment and the change of sentiment that has come over the people of the United States in regard to the people of this Dominion since the beginning of the war. This idea of "Our Lady of the Snows," which you yourselves have dissipated by your tremendous business activity in the last twenty years, still held within itself the idea that you were a sort of juvenile people, a small race of good people, planted up here, who were all right as neighbours, but there wasn't very much else to talk about. Now one thing that Canada has done since the beginning of this war has been not only to place herself, in my judgment, on the map of the Western Hemisphere, but to put herself in the forefront of every Western people. Do you realize what it is going to mean to our men—and it is no secret that tens of thousands of them will be heard from at the front before very many weeks—do you realize that every foot of ground they tread, they will have to figure that here and here and here Canada has helped to make history before them. I tell you that your victories, that epic story of Vimy Ridge, was read and caressed and thought over just as deeply on our side of the line as it was on yours. You have here in this community, I know, thousands of homes that have been touched by the deepest sorrow that can touch a home. You have your weeping mothers and your distressed fathers, and while mingling our tears with theirs we can see something beyond the actual thought and fact of death. We can see a great new nation born at this head of the continent, carrying, through these dead young men, an eternal wreath of honour and bravery. Memory, which falls on the hearts of men and women like the petals of the apple blossom in the spring time, will bring to the hearts of these people who are in mourning, a cry and a prayer of joy that those young men of theirs who died, died well. That is all there is to it ; it is not when you die, or where you die, it is how you die. Gentlemen, do not fail to face the issue ; this is a war of ideals, of idealism against barbarity ; it is a war for the spiritual uplifting of democracy ; that is what it amounts to, and the only way to win a war like that is to forget every petty, party, political and commercial and business difference there is. There is a story of an old priest in France, a dear old man down in one of the Basque villages, who was celebrating his twenty-fifth anniversary in the parish. It was a little village with a congregation of thrifty French farmers and peasants ; they had no money and did not know what to do for him to celebrate this anniversary ; so they all decided that in the night each one take a bottle of his best wine and put in the empty barrel back of the pastor's house and in the morning when they came to ask his blessing they would ask him to turn the spigot and tell him this came with their love. The next morning the people came and the priest came and turned the spigot and nothing but pure water came out. Every man had figured that the other man would put in the wine. Gentlemen, you can't win the war that way ; there has got to be faith ; there have got to be all these spiritual virtues ; there has got to be in the future world—in journalism, in business, in professions of every kind—there has got to be vision. If you have any visionaries in Canada, and you have lots of them, arise and put them where they belong, because the day is coming in this democracy and in every other one when the visionary is going to lead his people. You have a lot of them ; I have met some in the few days I have been here.

The lines of Hardy always have a peculiar and reverential appeal to me when I see as I do see here in this city so many evidences of the sorrow I have been speaking about. It must be when time heals these wounds, a tremendous and joyous satisfaction just to think of that one verse of Hardy's which contains so much of condolence and thoughtfulness and happiness to those who have sent their own boys :

"What of the faith and fire within us
We who march away
Ere the dawn should come whose night is growing grey,
To hazards whence no tears can win us,
What of the faith and fire within us
We who march away !"

The Chairman expressed the thanks of the meeting to the speaker, his sentiments being echoed in three hearty cheers.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND CLOSE OF SESSION,

1916-1917

TORONTO, May 17th, 1917.

The annual meeting was held in the St. Charles Hotel.

PRESIDENT PERRY, in opening the meeting, asked the members to pay a silent tribute to the memory of the brave men of this Club who have made the supreme sacrifice for liberty in the war, especially to the memory of Lieut.-Col. Denison, to whom the Club had bidden God-speed at the last annual meeting. (The members stood silent, with bowed heads, for some moments.)

THE PRESIDENT then announced that after routine business was transacted, short addresses would be given on the topic, "Economic and Social Conditions after the War." The speakers were Rev. Dr. Pidgeon, A. E. Donovan, M.L.A., and Hon. Mr. Justice Craig.

Mr. Norman Sommerville was then elected President for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT PERRY, before introducing the President-elect, said: It devolves on me, as retiring President, to make a few valedictory remarks. In retiring from the Presidency of the Club, which you were good enough to offer me in May of last year—and which I accepted with considerable misgiving on account of the many men of prominence who, from the beginning, had filled the position with distinction—I desire, before leaving the chair, to return to the Club my heartfelt thanks for the cordial and warm support which I have received throughout the year from every member, in my humble endeavour to build up and make more widespread the influence of our organization.

I realized at the outset that, to achieve any measure of success, the President of the Empire Club must be permitted a comparatively free hand, and must not be timorous or faint-hearted ; but at the same time it must always be his endeavour to command the enthusiastic and loyal support of the Club, and particularly of the Executive Committee of the Club. I have constantly made that endeavour, and all through the year I have been abundantly rewarded by receiving from every one the most loyal and indulgent support.

My year of office has been to me one of the happiest years of my life, associated as I have been with a group of patriotic gentlemen—real gentlemen—whose zeal and enthusiasm for high ideals have been of the most inspiring character. And I am confident that the work done this year will be fruitful, and of far-reaching advantage to the Club through the years to come.

Although all have done splendidly, I may be permitted to refer especially to the excellent service performed on behalf of the Club by the Chairman of the Membership Committee. It is largely through his efforts, and the efforts of our efficient Secretary, that we have run up our membership from under 500 at the beginning of the year, to the neighbourhood of 1,100. The Club roll now contains the names of many of our public men throughout the country, and many of our most distinguished citizens, who have joined us this year; and it embraces, as it is designed to embrace, British subjects of every political and religious complexion, who are faithful to our Country, our Empire, and our King.

The magnificent series of thirty-one addresses with which we have been favoured during the session (and which have been excellently reported from week to week in the public press), I am sure you have greatly appreciated; and when bound together and delivered to each member will be considered by all of inestimable value.

I desire to refer particularly to our new departure this session, of inviting a woman to address the Club for the first time. We took this action because of our desire to pay a tribute to the noble women of Canada for the splendid, efficient work they are performing in connection with the war. We hope that the precedent established will be followed in future years, and that the eloquent, lucid and charming address delivered at our noon luncheon on the 26th April by Mrs. Arthur Van Koughnet, will be followed by addresses from other women from year to year ; and also that, upon every such occasion, the sisters, wives and daughters of members will be invited to grace the Club with their presence.

The various resolutions of a public character passed and published by the Club, on war service, man power, economy, research, etc., which were sent on to the Government, and the splendid addresses delivered before the Club along the lines of the resolutions,—if they have not awakened our parliamentary leaders at Ottawa to action—have had, you may be sure, their effect in helping to mould public opinion ; and that the present Government, or another, must immediately take heed to the public tone, and, without further delay, organize all our resources, and adopt drastic measures to provide sufficient reinforcements to support our brave fighting men who are melting away at the Front.

It must be very gratifying to the members of the Club to notice that one of the principles in our platform, namely, "Preferential Advantage to Trade within the Empire," has been taken up by the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, composed of leaders from all parts of the Empire,—and that the principle was accepted by the Cabinet, and expressed by its members to be "a measure that would enrich, strengthen and bind together the Empire as a whole."

The following resolutions, and petition, adopted by the Club and sent on to the Government, were duly acknowledged by the Right Hon. Premier :

"*Resolved*,—That the Empire Club of Canada approves of the Dominion Government securing by registration a complete record of Canada's resources in military and industrial man power and taking, by order-in-council or legislation, such further action as may be necessary to secure the organization and co-ordination of these resources for the successful prosecution of the war."

"*Resolved*,—That in the opinion of the Empire Club, each and every Government, corporation and person throughout the Empire should spend no money except for necessities and the vigorous prosecution of the war: and each person particularly should not purchase luxuries or other articles which will divert labour from the work essential to the production of munitions, supplies and other means for winning the war; and that all such persons should save as much as possible and utilize such savings for war purposes; and that the Empire Club urge the Dominion Government to take such steps as may be necessary to prohibit the importation of luxuries into Canada during the war."

The petition of the Empire Club of Canada humbly sheweth:

"That, the Empire Club of Canada, true to the principles on which it is founded, has always taken a deep and active interest in upholding the principles for which our Empire stands and in assisting the Government of Canada, in every possible manner, to prosecute the present war to a successful conclusion;

"That, through the activities of its members, in the Red Cross work, the Patriotic Fund Association, the Recruiting League, the Speakers' Patriotic League, the Hospitals' Commission, and in all organizations for the relief of returned soldiers and the care of their families, the Club has kept in close and sympathetic touch with those who are making such heroic sacrifices in support of the principles upon which our British liberty is based;

> "That, with the intimate knowledge which this Association possesses in regard to the feelings of all those with whom its members come into contact, the Empire Club has carefully considered the suggestion made by Mr. W. A. Fraser, of Toronto, that a silver cross be presented, by the Dominion Government, to each Canadian mother who has lost a son during the present war in defence of our Empire.
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> "Believing that the supreme sacrifice of motherhood should be acknowledged in some suitable manner and believing that the idea of the silver cross is as beautiful as motherhood itself and as simple as it is beautiful, the Empire Club of Canada has unanimously approved of the suggestion. We do therefore pray that you and your Government may give the suggestion of the silver cross your very careful consideration, and that, in your wisdom, you ask the King's permission to establish this emblem as a public recognition of the gratitude of Canada to these mothers of Empire. And the Empire Club of Canada will ever pray."

Gentlemen, before I close, let me refer a moment to the awful war. The war that is destroying—along with the worst—so many of the best of the human race ; that is wasting away the accumulated wealth of the nations, and draining the productive resources of the world.

Practically the whole world is now passing in distress through a cleansing crucible. Nations that would fain have kept aloof are now hurrying into the flaming storm,—hurrying, with the rest, to the harvest. Some more, some less, have been long busy sowing the wind, now all are busy reaping the whirlwind ! For lust of power, pride, unbelief, self-sufficiency and perversity, and for diverting and misusing the blessings bestowed by High Heaven on humanity, humanity is now called upon to pay the penalty. And until that penalty is paid by all the nations *according to their several deserts*, the scourging will not end ; not until the contravention of the eternal decrees by the wayward of the earth is fully avenged, and the scales of justice balance.

Let us not forget, gentlemen, that a *righteous God reigns!* And that this fiery hurricane that is permitted by the Almighty to sweep the nations, is permitted for a righteous purpose! And let us be sure—gladly sure—that when the terrible storm is passed, and the clouds have rolled away, a brighter day will dawn upon the stricken world; that truth will stand; that the perverse will have become obedient and humane; that a right understanding will be established among the nations; that war will be abolished; that freedom will prevail; and, that the words of the immortal Burns will then come true, that "Man to man the warld o'er shall brithers be for a' that."

Thanking you again for the honour you have done me, I now cordially invite the President-elect to come forward and take the chair.

The retiring President then heartily welcomed Mr. Norman Sommerville, the new President, in the following words:—

Mr. President,—I congratulate you! And it gives me great pleasure, in retiring, to welcome you to the chair I have just vacated, and to wish you every success in the exercise of the high responsibilities of the position to which you are now called. My best wish for you is, that you may enjoy the work you are to perform, as fully as I have enjoyed the work; and that you will receive—as I am sure you will receive—the same hearty, generous, loyal support that was given to me during the entire term of my service.

Speaking from a year's experience at the head of our organization, I believe it is not only possible, but I shall be surprised—with the hearty aid of the fine Executive elected to support you,—if at the close of your year of service the membership of the Club has not increased from 1,100 to 2,000. It ought to be our aim, I think, Mr. President, to add continually to our roll of membership,—consequently to our influence,—until we have become strong enough to warrant establishing permanent Club quarters—quarters that would be a home of welcome to members from all parts of the country visiting Toronto at any time.

Gentlemen,—"The King is dead! Long live the King!"

PRESIDENT SOMMERVILLE said : Mr. Ex-President, I wish to thank you, not merely for the valedictory which you have delivered so eloquently, but also for your introductory speech which you have delivered with so much force and prophesying power. The task that is before the President of this Club for the coming year is the hardest task that any President has had to face. As one looks back upon the period of possibly fourteen years, when a group of men gathered in Toronto to conduct an educational campaign looking to the establishment of Imperialism as the practical solution of our Canadian political future, at a time when Canadianism, nationalism and continentalism seemed to be in vogue, and seemed to be leading the nation in a particular direction, one realizes that the task as President of this Club is a very big one indeed. That campaign was conducted through the Empire Club by men who, in season and out of season, were faithful in the performance of their duty, and were filled with the faith in which this Club was begotten. The past year has been the most remarkable in the history of the Empire, in two respects : First, as the fathers of this Club have seen, for the first time, the announcement by all the leaders of all the Dominions throughout the Empire that there is only one policy for each, and that is the policy for which this Club stands. The policy, then, is established, and it never shall be changed. The questions which arose out of the policy for which this Club stood were those of method and procedure ; and again, for the first time in the history of the Empire, we have had all the leaders of all the Dominions overseas, as well as the War Council of Britain itself, though wedded, as it were, to the Cobden ideals of free trade, make the pronouncement that Imperial trade was the foundation for the future imperial relationship. Our paramount duty for the coming year, therefore, is to focus our attention on those two features, the principle having been established that imperialism is the policy that will be adopted by the entire Empire. But the question will remain, what is to be the procedure, the form ? Some may suggest a council, some a convention, some a parliament ; and the question that will engage attention during the coming years will be to evolve, by the discussion and careful consideration of all the plans suggested, a political institution that shall be new in its character and that shall entirely express that which lies at the bottom of every British heart—the desire to do justice to each, and to give liberty of action to all. Involved with this question is that of imperial relations in the matter of trade ; and I fancy there is none fraught with so much danger, and none that requires so much thought and careful discussion, as the best means of conserving our own interests and at the same time serving the interests of the Empire, and maintaining that unity of trade as well as of politics upon which the future of the Empire must be based. In looking to this future and in thinking of these questions I see before me a range of discussion worthy of the Empire Club All I can say to you, gentlemen, is that I appreciate the honour of the Presidency highly, and I will do my best. I shall expect, and I know I shall receive, the heartiest and most loyal support of every member of the Club. Otherwise the task cannot be accomplished to the satisfaction of any member of the Club ; and I know, too, that if one does one's best you are generous and sympathetic enough to overlook those weaknesses and failures that might become apparent through the year's programme. I shall have difficulty, sir, in following after the magnificent year which you have just completed, and in which you have covered the field of available speakers in Canada so thoroughly that I may not be able to maintain the same high standard; but I shall expect the co-operation of every member of the Club, and look for suggestions as to available speakers and subjects, and shall at all times give my first thought to the interests of the Club and the policy for which it stands.

The meeting closed with three cheers for the retiring President, and the singing of Auld Lang Syne.

HONOUR ROLL OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Bearing the Names of Members, and Close Relatives of Members ON ACTIVE IMPERIAL SERVICE

Allan, Major J. C.
Alley, Capt. H. R.
Anderson, Major T. W.
Anderson, Lieut C. W.

Boswell, Sub-Lieut. E. C.
Boswell, Sub-Lieut. W. O.
* Boswell, Private E. B.
Boswell, Private H. G.
Brown, Lt-Col. W. J.
Bruce, Dr. Herbert
Boyd, Lieut. John
Boyd, Pte. J. A.

Cassels, Lieut. Hamilton
Christie, Lieut. R. J.
Clouse, Lieut. F. L.
Clutterbuck, Dr. H. E.
Currie, Col. J. A.

Denison, Major
Dixon, J. F. E.
Dow, L.-Corp. C. A. G.
* Dunstan, Lieut. G. T.
Durie, Lieut. W. A. P.

Eason, Major F.
Embree, Capt. M. H.

Fetherstonhaugh, Major J. E. M.
Fleming, Lieut. C. H.
Foster, H. W. A.
Fotheringham, Col. Dr. J. T.
Foster, Lieut. R. L.
Grubbe, Major J. P.
Guest, Corp. H. J.
Guthrie, Lieut.-Col. P. Gooderham

Hearst, Lieut. H. V.
Ham, Pte. P.
Hearst, Lieut. W. I.
Howe, Gilbert
Hughes, General Sir Sam K.C.B.
Hughes, Brig.-General G. B.
Hughes, Lieut. C.
Hunter, Major A. T.
Hayward, Capt. A. K.
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Livett, Lieut. W. B.
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Lorsch, Sergt. F. D.

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Minard, Lieut. B. B. W.
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Pellatt, Lt.-Col. R.
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Perry, Pte. Rex.
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Macdonald, Capt. F. S.
Macdonald, Hugh
Macdonald, John
Macdonald, Stuart
Macdonald, Lt-Col. W. C.
Macdonell, A. C., K.C., M.P.
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Macfarlane, A. H.
Macgillivray, Dougald, F.R.C.I.
MacKay, G. L.
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Macklem, L. Clark
McLean, Hector
Maclean, A. Hugh
Maclean, F. W.
Maclean, Brig-Gen. Hugh H., M.P.
Maclean, W. B.
McLennan, J. A.
Macnab, Rev. Canon Alex.
Maclean, Rev. Major J. Russell
Mackay, Dr. Alex.
Mackay, F. D.
Macpherson, G. A.
MacQueen, Col. F. W., F.R.C.I.
Macrae, A. M.
Madill, Dr. W. S.
Mahony, R. J.
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Malcolm, Geoffrey I.
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Mallory, Dr. M. B.
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Margeson, Major J. W.
Marsden, A. L.
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Martin, Rev. H. D.
Martin, H. J.
Martin, W. H.
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Marshall, Lt-Col. Noel, F.R.C.I.
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Matthews, C. A. G.
Matthews, R. C.
Matthews, W. D.
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Menzies, Stewart
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Miller, G. M.
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Miller, N. St. Clair
Millichamp, R.
Miller, Lt-Col. J. B., F.R.C.I.
Miller, Prof. W. G.
Millichamp, W.
Millman, Dr. T.
Mills, E. W.
Mills, Robt. E.
Mills, S. Dillon
Milne, J. A.
Minard, Asa. R.
Minchinton, Harry
Minehan, Rev. L.
Mitchell, Lt-Col. C. H.
Mitchell, James
Mitchell, Rev. T. H.
Mitchell, W. G.
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Montgomery, Joseph
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Moore, Chas. A.
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Morrow, C. S.
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Mott, E. A., F.R.C.I.
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Mulock, Hon. Sir Wm.
Munn, Major F. J.
Muntz, G. H.
Murphy, Jos.
Murphy, J. E.
Murphy, W. K.
Murray, W. J.
Musson, J. G.
Musson, W. B.
Mutch, N. M.

Nash, C. W.
Naylor, R. W.
Neely, T. A.
Neill, Geo. E.
Neville, Lt. Montague
Neville, R. S., K.C., F.R.C.I.
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Nicholls, Lt-Col. The Hon. Senator Frederic
Nickel, C. M.
Niebel, F. G.
Noble, Dr. R. T.
Norman, Jas.
Noad, J. J.
Norman, Thos.
Northey, John P.
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O'Brian, J. B.
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Oldfield, F.
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Omand, W. C.
Orr, Dr. R. B.
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Osborne, Lt-Col. H. C.
Osler, Sir Edmund
Osler, Hon. Featherstone, K.C.
Osler, F. Gordon

Pack, R. F., F.R.C.I.
Page, Robt.
Pape, G.
Park, R. B.
Parker, Alf.

Parker, Herbert
Parker, Robt.
Parker, W. R. P.
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Paterson, J. H.
Patterson, Rev. J. R.
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Paterson, P. L.
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Pepler, T. S.
Pepler, Dr. W. H.
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Perry, Gordon, F.
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Pierce, O. H.
Piper, Harry L.
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Ponton, Douglas
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Porter, Lieut. Chas. H., C.A.V.C.
Potter, D.
Powell, Rev. R. N.
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Pratt, Lt-Col. A. C.
Prat, Rupert
Price, E. B.
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Williams, R. A.
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Wilson, J. W.
Wilson, Major R. S.
Wilson, R. J.
Wilson, Geo. T.
Wilson, S. Frank, F.R.C.I.
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Wilson, Dr. W. J.
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